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ABSTRACT

Approximately 300 annotated references to research on the impact of television and other visual media on the behavior and development of children are presented in three sections of this bibliography. The first section consists of reports about the type of fare offered to the public and the values and picture of life it presents. Literature in the second section deals with the viewers of television, the role of television in their lives, and the relationships between demographic variables and the viewers' program preferences. Research which assesses specific effects of viewing particular forms of visually presented stimuli is described in the third section. The scope of the review is limited to the entertainment and informational aspects of television, and citations are provided only for books and research papers up through January of 1971. An additional 250 references are included in an unannotated supplemental list. (Author/SH)

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National Clearinghouse for Mental Health Information

TELEVISION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

An Annotated Bibliography of Research Focusing on Television's Impact on Children

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MENTAL HEALTH

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TELEVISION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

An Annotated Bibliography of Research Focusing on Television's Impact on Children

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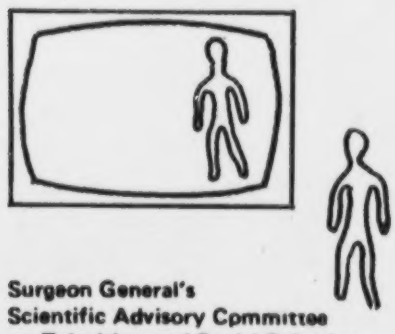

Surgeon General's
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on Television and Social Behavior

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FOREWORD

This annotated bibliography is the by-product of a research program on television and social behavior initiated in 1969, under the guidance of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. A major emphasis of the Committee's activities is the support and coordination of twenty-three research projects which have been underway since mid-1969 and are scheduled for completion in 1971. However, it was felt that an additional effort should be made to update information on prior research in the area of television and social behavior. This bibliography is the result of that effort.

From a numerical standpoint, this listing is impressive. There are approximately 300 annotated and 250 unannotated citations. However, in view of the pervasiveness of television in the lives of our children, the scope and depth of relevant literature is surprisingly limited. There is much we do not know about the impact of television on the behavior and attitudes of children, and much that remains equivocal.

The program of research under the sponsorship of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior will hopefully expand our knowledge in this area. In the meantime, we believe that this bibliography can be useful to researchers in the field and to those informed citizens who wish to know what questions have been asked and what answers have been found about the impact of television on the behavior and attitudes of children.

Eli A. Rubinstein, Ph.D.
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Television and Social Behavior

PREFACE

Television viewers have begun to fascinate researchers almost as much as television has fascinated viewers. Thus, the past decade has witnessed a sharp increase in both research and public concern over the impact of this aspect of the mass media. This bibliography and the research program of which it is a part is an outgrowth of this public concern. However, on a more restricted scale, this reference work is simply an attempt to present in a concise yet comprehensive manner relevant research on the impact of television.

This bibliography incorporated as its base previous reviews of the literature, such as Greenberg and Tannenbaum's (1968) review of mass communication research, Schramm's (1964) compilation of references for the UNESCO bibliography on mass media, and Weiss's analysis of the effects of the mass media. In addition, the standard sources such as Psychological Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts, Current Contents, and Annual Review articles were used in conjunction and the National Clearinghouse for Mental Health Information and the National Library of Medicine (MEDLARS) literature retrieval services to obtain the initial bibliographic listing. From this initial set of references approximately 300 of the most relevant citations were selected for annotation with an additional 250 included in an unannotated supplemental list. The search of the literature, begun in October 1969 and completed in January 1971, represents as closely as possible a careful coverage of material in the major journals.

The annotated material is alphabetical and divided into three sections: "Television Content and Programming," "Audience Viewing Patterns and General Effects of Television," and "The Impact of Television and Other Visual Media on Children and Youth."

The first section, "Television Content and Programming," consists of reports about the type of fare offered to the public and the values and picture of life it presents. References range from Gerbner's (1969)

content analysis of TV programming to Pool's (1960) discussion of the role of "public taste" in regulating television programming. Also included are abstracts of recent research on the structure and operation of the broadcast industry.

"Audience Viewing Patterns and General Effects of Television" cites literature which deals with the viewers of television, the role of television in their lives, and the relationships between demographic variables and the viewers' program preferences and viewing patterns. The research in this section describes viewer characteristics, as in the reports by Himmelweit, Oppenheim, and Vince (1958), Maccoby (1958), and Schramm, Lyle, and Parker (1961), which have provided a broad outline of the role television plays in the life of a child.

"The Impact of Television and Other Visual Media on Children and Youth" describes research designed to assess the specific effects of viewing particular forms of visually presented stimuli. Such factors as modification of attitudes and values (Bailyn, 1959), and the observational learning of aggressive behavior (Bandura, 1969) are characteristic of articles presented in this category.

The scope of this bibliography, as with any review of the literature, is somewhat arbitrarily determined. For example, citations are provided only for book and research papers, while articles appearing in newspapers and other popular journals are not included. Moreover, the bibliography stresses research on the impact of television and other visual media on the behavior and development of children, since this area is of major interest to the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior. In addition, although one of the major topic areas of this review is the relationship between televised violence and the aggressive behavior of viewers, there has been no attempt to survey the literature relevant to violence or aggression per se. Finally, we have restricted the scope of our review to the entertainment/informational aspects of television and have not dealt with the vast literature pertaining to educational television.

In spite of limitations, the bibliography covers a wide range of research topics. While effort was made to include all references pertinent to the subject, undoubtedly some items have been overlooked, especially in the foreign literature. However, it is hoped that the scope is sufficiently broad that the bibliography will be valuable to persons with diverse needs and theoretical orientations.

One final comment, and perhaps the most important, is an acknowledgment of our gratitude for the sustained assistance of staffs at the National Institute of Mental Health, Colorado State University, and the University of Wisconsin. The initial impetus for this bibliography came from Dr. Eli A. Rubinstein and we are grateful that he has continued to play an active role in guiding this project. In addition, the members of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior provided useful comments on the first draft of the bibliography. We wish to express our appreciation of Miss Barbara Platte of Biospherics, Inc. who assisted in the preparation of an early draft of some of the annotations appearing in this volume. Moreover, we are particularly indebted to several members of the staff of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior: Dr. George Comstock, who gave general consultation; Miss Michael Adler, who assisted in the initial compilation of citations; Tom Brubeck, who handled the design and publication problems; and Miss Eileen Marchak, who assisted in locating and organizing reference material and in providing general editorial comments.

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TELEVISION CONTENT AND PROGRAMMING

TELEVISION CONTENT AND PROGRAMMING

1. Bluem, A. William, and Manvell, Roger, Eds. Television: the creative experience. New York: Hastings House, 1967. 328 p.

This collection of essays surveys recent progress in the art and technique of television production in Britain and America. Topics include TV journalism, news presentations, political campaigns, interviewing, and educational TV, as well as the roles of directors, writers, and performers. The essay on violence in TV drama suggests that children need not be shielded from the factual presentation of violence, although parents should explain the unreality of killing in dramatic productions. Violence is never normal but is indicative of an individual or social disturbance that needs resolution. The truthful presentation of any act of violence should show the nature of the disturbance that precipitated it, not why violence is wrong. The home atmosphere is an important factor mitigating the effects of televised violence.

2. Clark, Cedric C. Television and social control: some observations on the portrayal of ethnic minorities. Television Quarterly, 8:18-22, 1969.

This author views mass communication as both a cause of social conflict and a method of controlling it. To the extent that America is organized along principles of race or ethnicity, communication functions to maintain the established order and is therefore crucial to the understanding of social conflict. TV reflects the social structure of society by its selection and presentation of characters. Nonrecognition or ridicule of certain groups engenders a predictable attempt of these group members to regain exploited self-esteem. Television also affects the social structure through its regulation of the occupational roles assigned to minority group members. An early analysis of programming showed that all black characters had some connection with organizations devoted to the maintenance of law and order. Those who benefit least from society are thus increasingly shown in roles associated with the protection of that society. The content analysis also showed that members of European immigrant groups were usually accorded much more respect in TV programming than members of other minority classes. The investigator concludes that as the TV industry exercises greater control over ethnic minorities through its regulation of programming, rebellion by them is likely to increase; as this rebellion increases, TV in turn is likely to exert greater and greater control.

3. Content analysis of programs preferred by children. Monthly Bulletin of the Radio and Television Culture Research Institute, 10(9), 1960.

Japanese researchers analyzed the content of 70 TV programs originating in both Japan and the United States which were favorites of Japanese children. Aggressive-hero type programs tended to stress justice, courage, and self-confidence, while the villain usually employed cruelty, selfishness, and violence. Socially desirable characteristics, such as fairness, diligence and good manners, were seldom portrayed. In these shows, good invariably overcame evil, and in the majority of cases studied violence was the means used to accomplish justice.

4. DeFleur, Melvin. Occupational roles as portrayed on television. Public Opinion Quarterly, 28:57-74, 1964.

This investigator found that television portrayals of workers tended to emphasize stereotypes and focus on atypical, dramatic or deviant aspects of many occupations. He argues that incidental learning from television may contribute to the child's orientation to others carrying out specific work roles, and that this learning source is unlikely to be counterbalanced by more realistic information systematically from other sources. In a content analysis of programs that portrayed people interacting in modern settings where recognizable work roles were being carried out (thus excluding Westerns), he discovered that occupations associated with the enforcement or administration of the law accounted for nearly one-third of the televised work force. The analysis also showed that these characters were stereotyped, with clever and legally unorthodox lawyers, and hardened and brutal police officials, who were less capable than the resourceful private investigators. Using an index of power based on the relative number of dominant and submissive acts, judges ranked very high, followed by district attorneys and police officials. Private detectives and lawyers were moderately powerful, and uniformed patrolmen, sheriffs, and deputies were slightly lower in power.

5. Elkin, Frederick. The psychological appeal of the Hollywood Western. Journal of Educational Sociology, 24:72-86, 1950.

The investigator analyzed qualitative aspects of traditional Western movies which are often displayed during children's heavy viewing periods on television. He found that justice always prevailed in this type of motion picture, and the typical hero neither smoked or drank, did not lose his temper, fought fair, and was a paragon of democratic social values.

6. Elliot, Philip, and Chaney, David. A sociological framework for the study of television production. Sociological Review, 17:355-376, 1969.

Social scientists investigating mass communications have been almost exclusively preoccupied with questions about the audience for the media. These authors feel that this type of investigative approach should be complemented with an analysis of the structure and process of media production itself. This latter method could then establish how and why the audience is provided with one type of media output rather than another. They begin by discussing the sociology of art and analyzing how the artistic and cultural expressions of an

age demonstrate the structure and dynamics of contemporary society. They also review the perspectives of organization theory and industrial sociology and how these theories can be applied to the distinctive production problems of the media. Although the media operate along industrial lines, there are differences between broadcasting and other types of industry that make it difficult to place media production in any of the classifications of industrial technology. The wide variety of technical and creative skills needed in the communications field offers more career mobility than other systems. Since the media are subject to continual public scrutiny, they are more outward looking than enterprises that do not need to establish continuous relationships with their clients. The authors conclude by discussing the social contexts of media production and the procedural stages of actual program production. (40 references)

7. Emmett, B. P. A new role for research in broadcasting. Public Opinion Quarterly, 32:654-665, 1968/69 (Winter).

The purpose of this paper is to present a possible line of development in radio and television research that suggests how a broadcasting organization can provide diverse, high-quality programs based on criteria other than just audience size. As a preferred alternative, Emmett discusses a group of operational research techniques known as mathematical programming (i.e., linear analysis). In this system, the broadcasting organization's operations, including its goals, are expressed in symbolic or mathematical form, and the optional course of media programming is then determined through computer analysis. The author also suggests that public service goes beyond merely giving the public what it wants or what the majority seems to want. He expresses the need for a new research role which will include the regular and systematic study of audience psychological gratifications. These gratifications are viewed as recreation, orientation, and stimulation. Among the problems that researchers could probe are the complications of trying to plan for several channels that run at the same time ("multi-channel complementary planning") and selection of gratification criteria for different periods of the day. The author's suggested goal is to develop research techniques that will provide diverse, high-quality programs to satisfy diverse audiences based upon intensive study of their needs. (9 references)

8. Gardner, Leroy W. A content analysis of Japanese and American television. Journal of Broadcasting, 6:45-52, 1961.

This study compared Japanese and American television programming, based on content analysis of television logs of daily newspapers from Tokyo and Minneapolis. Drama was the most popular television fare in both countries. Time was allotted several times each month for the presentation of live performances of ancient native theaters of Japan, suggesting a desire to retain culturally traditional art forms. The Japanese logs show a larger percentage of time spent on sports. The Japanese devote more time to educational and women's categories which were almost nonexistent in the American logs. The Japanese have imported a large number of American produced television programs, and they have also continued to create new programs, some very similar to American imports, some quite unique. (4 references)

9. Gentile, Frank, and Miller, S. M. Television and social class. Sociology and Social Research, 45:259-264, 1961.

In a content analysis relevant to learning theories of aggression, these investigators found that prime-time television programs featured mainly upper- and middle-class characters. Less than one in 10 characters were classified as working class, and these typically were portrayed as "crude" and negative in various respects. (3 references)

10. Gerbner, George, Holsti, Ole, Krippendorff, Klaus, Paisley, William, and Stone, Philip. The analysis of communication content: developments in scientific theories and computer techniques. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969. 597 p.

This anthology of papers summarizes the major recent developments in content analysis, presenting a wide spectrum of approaches and applications useful to both specialists and interested researchers from other fields. Gerbner provides a preface to the 29 chapters contributed by participants at a conference held at the Annenberg School of Communications in 1967. Krippendorff discusses the boundaries of the content analysis field in an introduction to the section dealing with theories and concepts of analysis. Holsti introduces a group of papers dealing with problems of inference from content data, Paisley gives an orientation to the section on methods of recording and notation, and Stone writes an introduction to the chapters on computer techniques of analysis.

11. Greenberg, Bradley. The content and context of violence in the mass media. In Baker and Ball, Violence and the media, 1969, p. 423-452.

The author reviews studies dealing with violent content in magazines, comic books, paperbacks, newspapers, and television. He describes the evidence on television content presented as testimony before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency in hearings held in 1955, 1961, and 1964. He also presents results of an unpublished study by Stempel that analyzed one week of 60- to 90-minute programs during the evening hours. Of more than 200 story problems presented, almost three in five were solved by violent tactics, with verbal, physical, and mechanical means used with approximately the same incidence. The author also reviews the correlates of exposure to violent mass media content among young people and adults, and discusses the reasons for violent content in the media. (53 references)

12. Greenberg, Bradley. Television for children: dimensions of communicator and audience perceptions. AV Communication Review, 13:385-396, 1965.

This investigator studied the perceptions of child viewers and creators of children's programs by asking each group to rate program scripts. The staff of a children's series gave identical ratings in expressing their own evaluations of the scripts and in ratings of how they perceived a typical child would evaluate it. There was a wide gap between the professionals' judgments and the ratings of third- and seventh-graders. The professionals was mainly concerned with program style and interest and only minimally concerned with general quality. However, the seventh-graders judged programs most frequently in terms of good or bad and on the program's difficulty. Third-graders also evaluated the program in general terms and were more lavish and indiscriminate in praising

programs than the older youngsters. The investigator suggests that a child left to his own devices makes indiscriminate use of TV, and unless controlled by careful programming, his standards, tastes, and sense of discrimination do not develop. (8 references)

13. Greenberg, Daniel Arthur. Television - its critics and criticism (a survey and analysis). Wayne State University, 1965. Dissertation Abstracts, 25:5809, 1965.

To develop descriptive and normative statements about television criticism, this investigator surveyed television criticism appearing in 29 leading newspapers and 12 national magazines. The articles were analyzed according to form, style, technique, content, standards, function, and value. He concludes that much of television criticism is contradictory, fallacious, and sloppy, and that television critics are not "critics" in the proper sense but merely social commentators. The author states that the content of the articles is mainly news, gossip, promotional, and personality.

14. Head, Sydney. Content analysis of television drama programs. Quarterly of Film, Radio and Television, 9:175-194, 1954.

The investigator performed a content analysis on more than 200 network programs in the early 1950's. He found that the crime-aggression index for children's plays was higher than for other types of programs, and found an emphasis on professional criminals in these shows. Homicide was 22 times as common as in real life across all programs. Characters vastly overrepresented the middle and upper classes. (24 references)

15. Himmelweit, Hilde, Oppenheim, A. N., and Vince, Pamela. Television and the child: an empirical study of the effect of television on the young. London: Oxford University Press, 1958. 522 p.

In this comprehensive investigation of children and television, the researchers performed a content analysis of programming available to the British children. They found that the staple fare consisted of plays, particularly Westerns, crime, and adventure shows. In a typical week, 18 plays were shown which dealt with some aspect of lawbreaking and retribution, most of them designed for adults, even though shown in the pre-9 p.m. time period. The values consistently taught by television programs were that self-confidence and toughness are needed to achieve success, as goodness of character is not enough, and that violence is an inevitable part of life, and good people often resort to it. The investigators made a special qualitative analysis of the themes, values, and characterizations contained in 20 Westerns and crime-detective programs. They found that several devices were used to take the edge off violence: stylized presentation; stereotyped use of guns; frequent use of aggression by good and bad people; disguising of violence with humor; and use of tension. In general, violence in Westerns was abstract, stylized, and made readily acceptable because the hero never hesitates to use it and none of its moral consequences are ever dealt with. Despite moments of tension, violence was disguised to look remote and inconsequential - in fact, a game. The central lesson of Westerns was that good triumphs over bad through violence. In crime-detective shows, violence

was handled in a more realistic and personal fashion, and was not conventionalized. There was no attempt to evade the consequences of violence. Violence was often inserted to create sensation. The three main types of explicit values were that crime does not pay, that activities of criminals and of the law are similar as both sides bully and cheat if necessary, and that appearances are deceptive. The main idea implied here was that man is not responsible for his deeds, that he can't help himself, and that while the law must be upheld, the criminal can yet evoke sympathy. The authors conclude that the values displayed in these programs may have a major impact because they are consistently presented in dramatic form in program after program. The overall investigation is also described in the other two sections of this bibliography. (106 references)

16. Krippendorff, Klaus Herbert. An examination of content analysis: a proposal for a general framework and an information calculus for message analytic situations. University of Illinois, 1967. Dissertation Abstracts, 28:5082, 1967.

The author's review of the history of content analysis shows that little has been done to develop general theories of messages or adequate methodologies for assessing such inquiries. He proposed a general framework for the analysis of message content which is characterized by the environment of the message analyst, the one-way nature of communication from the message system to the analyst, and the inferences of the analyst about specific factors not observed in the communication. He has also developed a mathematical model for analyzing quantities of information. Particularly when dealing with social systems in which symbolic processes play a dominant role, the nonstatistical notion of information as proposed by the author may provide the basis of improved explanatory theories.

17. Larsen, Otto, Gray, Louis, and Fortis, J. Gerald. Achieving goals through violence on television. Sociological Inquiry, 8:180-196, 1963.

Using content analysis procedures, these authors explored the types of goals and methods of achieving them in 18 network television programs. Violence was the most frequent method employed for goal achievement; half of all methods presented in children's programs were violent, compared to about a quarter of all methods in other types of shows. They found that TV programs tended to project content in which socially approved goals were most frequently achieved by methods that are not socially approved, contrary to assertions that the mass media support common values or reassert existing cultural mores. In this study, violent methods were defined in terms of the use of threat of forceful means regardless of the actor's legal or nonlegal attachments, including displays of power, roughness, or physical force to injure, damage, maim, or render helpless.

18. Lazarsfeld, Paul. A researcher looks at television. Public Opinion Quarterly, 24:24-31, 1960.

The author proposes that the Federal Communications Commission organize a standards committee to improve entertainment programming. In testimony before the FCC, he made three basic points: "good" is a matter of degree rather than an absolute, a standards committee should represent the humanities and social

sciences as well as technical fields, and programming by rival broadcasters should be balanced so that different kinds of fare are available at the same time. Better relative standards would mean better quality for these programs that the public wants, not "elite fare." Rather than present poetry reading on prime-time television, for example, Lazarsfeld suggests elimination of ethnic stereotyping and excessive violence. The standards committee would sponsor studies on standards for ongoing reexamination of programming. It would provide opinions in license renewal cases, conduct periodic reviews of program content, and hear citizen's complaints and suggestions. (1 reference)

19. Murray, Randall, Cole, Richard, and Fedler, Fred. Teenagers and TV violence: how they rate and view it. Journalism Quarterly, 47:247-255, 1970.

These investigators studied definitions of violence and ratings of program violence in a subsample of 41 high school students from a larger sample of more than 800 students completing questionnaires. A peer-group definition of violence was used rather than some adult-imposed assumption about how teen-agers perceive violence. Most categorized violence in physical terms, mostly citing violence to persons or property. More than half also noted psychological or emotional aspects, such as anxiety and fear, or hatred and prejudice. About two in five felt that verbal abuse constituted violent acts. The overriding generality in definitions was that violence is senseless and irrational and usually occurs without good reason. Respondents also rated 150 programs, including movies, along with a five-step scale from least violent to most violent. The highest scoring programs dealt with detective-crime themes, followed by Westerns and general adventure programs. The researchers suggest a measure of the amount of violence viewed based on the product of frequency of viewing and violence ratings of the programs, divided by the total programs watched. Sex was the best predictor of violence viewing, while alienation was not related with violence exposure, in a sample of 370 high school students. (20 references)

20. National Association for Better Radio and Television. Crime on television: a survey report. Los Angeles, National Association for Better Radio and Television, 1964. 14 p.

A survey conducted during one week of programming in 1964 showed that 192 hours of broadcast time were devoted to programs in which the commission of crime was a major theme, and more than 500 killings were televised. The number of hours of crime programs represented a 20 percent increase over 1958, and a 90 percent increase over 1952. More than two-thirds of the total crime programming was broadcast before 9 p.m.

21. Noble, Grant. Concepts of order and balance in a children's TV program. Journalism Quarterly, 47:101-108, 1970.

This researcher found that children and television producers have different concepts for arranging the segments of a children's variety program. The producers apparently rely on novelty to gain and hold children's attention, while children seem to seek security through the presentation of familiar items in

familiar settings. In the study, children were given several segments of a British television program for children aged five to 12 and were asked to arrange them in preferred order of presentation and evaluate them for speed, length, and excitement. The items were filmed both on location and in the studio. The investigator found that children preferred to begin the presentation with an item which was longer and slower but more exciting. Their third selection was the slowest and longest but still exciting. After this point, both the pace and length of selected items varied, and the children ended the presentation with two short, slow, and less exciting items. Producers ordered items to present the most interesting and striking selection first. Children were less concerned about the ending than the producers. Producers would have started with a filmed item, while children preferred to begin and end with the presumably more familiar "secure" live items from the studio. (4 references)

22. Pool, Ithiel de Sola. Free discussion and public taste. Public Opinion Quarterly, 24:19-23, 1960.

The author proposed that the Federal Communications Commission should attempt to promote an increased variety of television programming. He feels that the government should ensure that TV facilities are used for the public good, by raising public taste while preserving free discussion on the air, without destroying free enterprise. On the basis of the Himmelweit study indicating that children will watch and enjoy "good" programs when there is no other choice, he infers that when only poor programming is available, people will watch it for the lack of anything better. Thus, over a period of time, people can develop either good or bad habits according to what kind of television programs are offered. Although little is known about the effects of TV, we have learned that educational programs are not necessarily unenjoyable, and that a rise in the circulation of inferior cultural materials does not necessarily lead to a decrease in the number of superior media uses. Pool concludes by suggesting that the FCC should direct research in both the natural and social sciences to determine the proper role of government in ensuring good programming. (1 reference)

23. Shelby, Maurice, Jr. Children's programming trends on network television. Journal of Broadcasting, 8:247-254, 1964.

The author describes the brief history of children's programming, dividing the events into three periods. In the beginning period between 1948 and 1952, there was a high degree of experimentation, a great deal of live programming, and little advertiser sponsorship. During the period of development in the mid-1950's, the number of hours devoted to children's shows increased, and there was an influx of filmed programs. There was an increased balance in time devoted to various types of programs, and children's adventure, Western, and variety shows were less prominent. This era saw the introduction of several "quality" programs such as Disneyland and Captain Kangaroo. This was followed by a period of adjustment between 1958 and 1963, when the networks began responding to governmental concern over the lack of quality programming. There were fewer up and down fluctuations from year to year in the total amount of time given over to children's programs, averaging about 22 to 26 hours per week for children. Weekday afternoons and Saturday morning became entrenched as favorite times for

airing these shows, while Sunday programming for children dropped off. Cartoons flourished, but child adventure and Western programs continued to decline in prominence.

24. Smythe, Dallas W. Reality as presented by television. Public Opinion Quarterly, 18:143-156, 1954.

This investigator summarizes the results of inventories of television programs and describes and analyzes the theory of content analysis employed in these studies. He proposed a "transactionist view" of mass media, where the audience restructures the content to meet their own needs. Hence, content analysis must not only consider the manifest content but also the implicit content. Dichotomies such as objective versus subjective and quantitative versus qualitative are not useful for content analysis because one must classify according to audience perception, motivation, and learning; the content must always be interpreted. However, a three-fold classification between "entertainment," "information," and "orientation" can be useful if it is kept in mind that these categories may not represent deviant or even model uses by the audience. Drama is the largest program class found in the entertainment group, and dominates over half of the children's and adults' viewing time. Entertainment programs in the survey accounted for 98 percent of all acts or threats of violence. Drama itself contained 87 percent, crime dramas contained 28 percent, and Westerns, 23 percent. Children's drama had more than three times the frequency of violent acts and threats as general audience dramas. The highest average was found among children's comedy drama, and about one-fourth of all violence was committed in a humorous context. About one-sixth of the violence was committed in the interests of law and order, and the proportion of this type of violence was slightly higher in programs specifically designed for children. The hours of the week when children might be expected to see more television tended to contain more violence than the rest of the viewing time. Studies of the cultural stereotyping was common. For example, 66 percent of all Italians shown on TV were depicted as lawbreakers and 83 percent of the heroes were white Americans. The author concludes that Semantic Differential studies of mass media content and sociometric measurements of audience will aid in analysis of television programs. (10 references)

25. Suchy, John. British television and its viewers. Journalism Quarterly, 31:466-472, 1954.

After tracing the development of British television, this author describes the type of programming offered prior to the introduction of commercial TV in 1955. British television was generally more information-oriented than American TV, and programs were specifically directed at housewives, children, and the general public at different times of the day; in fact, BBC occasionally broadcast requests that parents bar their children from viewing programs unsuitable for youngsters. Although there was twice as much violence on American TV at that time, children's programs in both countries were the vehicles for the most violent kinds of presentations. (4 references)

26. The television world of violence. In Baker and Ball, Violence and the media, 1969, p. 311-340.

This study monitored all network television programs transmitted during prime evening time and on Saturday morning during the first week of October in 1967 and 1968. Defining violence in terms of the overt expression of force intended to hurt or kill, the investigators found that some violence occurred in eight of every 10 plays, with an average of five violent episodes per play. Most violent episodes were presented as serious rather than humorous occurrences. There was no evidence of overall decline in the prevalence of violence from 1967 to 1968, although there seemed to be some moderation in its rate and tone. Violent acts were usually performed at close range, and were inflicted primarily through use of a weapon. Half the time the victim was a stranger, and in most cases he could not or did not resist. Those who committed acts of violence generally perceived them to be in self-interest. Violence stunned, maimed, and killed with little visible pain in these plays, and the casualty count of injured and dead was at least 790 during the two weeks. The "good guys" inflicted as much violence as the "bad guys," suffered a little more but triumphed in the end. Nearly half of the killers suffered no consequences for their acts. The typical violent actor was an unmarried young or middle-aged male, and foreigners and nonwhites committed more violence than white Americans. The forces of law and lawlessness accounted for one-third of all violent aggressors and half of all killers. The settings of violent plays were more global, more distant in time as well as in place, more mobile, and more exotic. Violence rarely appeared to violate legal codes, and when it did, the law itself was likely to be violent.

27. Topping, M. C. The cultural orientations of certain "Western" characters on television. Journal of Broadcasting, 9:291-304, 1965.

In an analysis of the antagonist, protagonist, and hero of 16 Western plays on television, this researcher found that these characters were most likely to have an ethical, rational, educated, individualistic view of the world. Along the five Kluckhohn scales, there was a tendency for both the hero and the protagonist to be in the categories which are those of the modern urban man. Despite suggestions that Westerns offer the viewer an opportunity to escape to a nostalgic, simplified view of life, he concludes that the Western fare is actually an "eastern" in boots and ten-gallon hat as far as value orientations of the characters are concerned, and that the Western hero seems to have the outlook of the organization man. These programs serve as a reflection of modern problems with violent solutions in a Western setting. (4 references)

28. The two worlds of violence: television and reality. In Baker and Ball, Violence and the media, 1969, p. 363-369.

The norms for violence contained in the television world of violence described in the 1967-1968 content analysis of TV programs are in stark contrast to the norms espoused by the majority of Americans. Legality is a primary criterion of approved violence for the majority of adults and teens, while it is not in the television world of violence. There is also a difference in the

nature of the assailant-victim relationship; in real life, the vast majority of violence occurs with persons who are friends or family members. The most prevalent type of violence in the television world involves the use of a weapon, while most Americans have never experienced this type of severe violence. In both the television and real worlds of violence, young to middle-aged males predominate. If young male viewers searching for masculinity happen to identify with the male "violents" on television, they may be more likely to imitate the attitudes and behavior found in the TV world of violence.

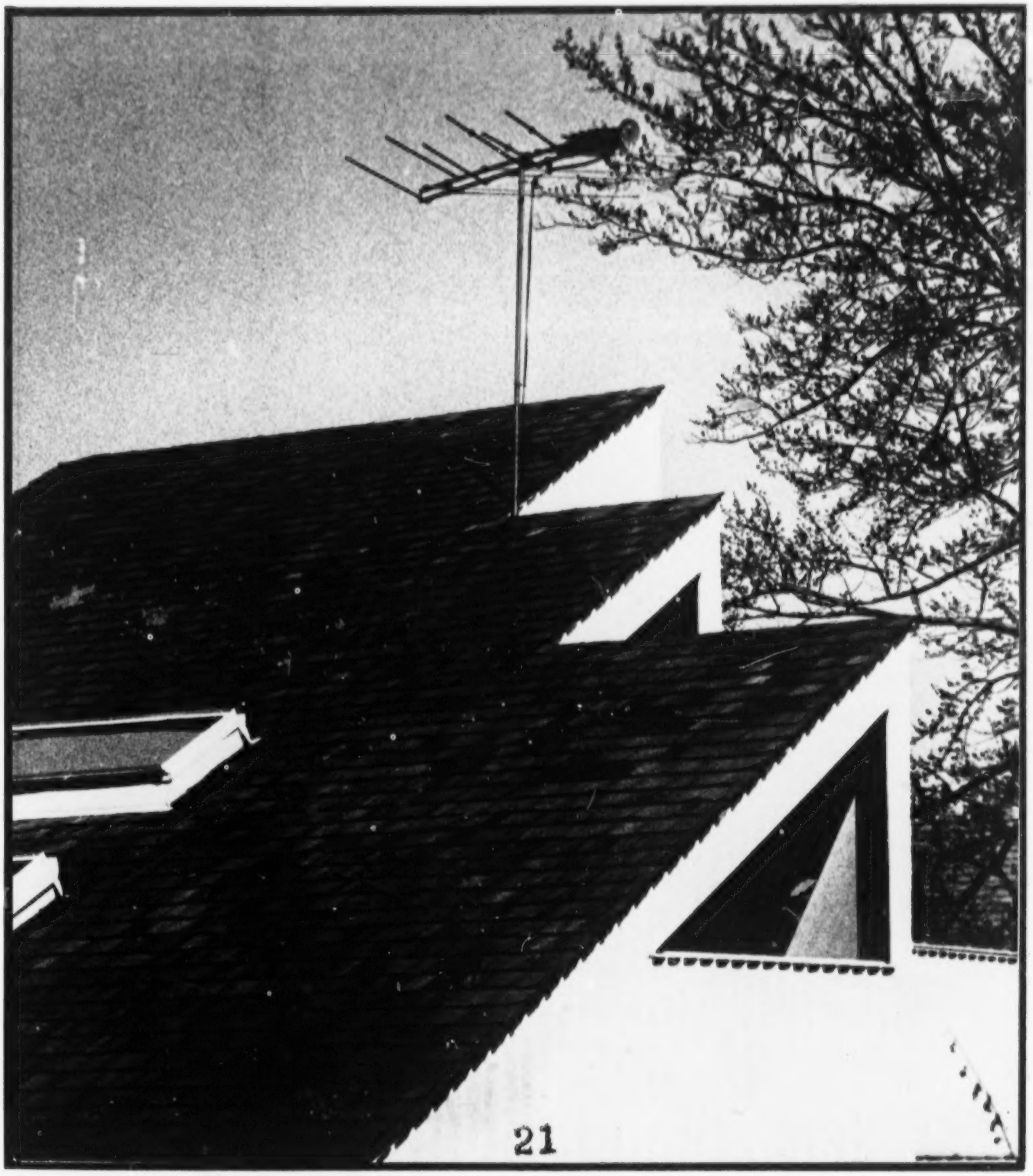
29. Whalen, Ray. Crime and violence on television. Ottawa, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1959.

This study compared the amount of violence shown on American and Canadian television. Two U.S. networks carried nine and one-half hours of violence and crime programs each week, and the third network carried six and one-half hours weekly. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation carried five and one-half hours per week, but its percentage of crime and violence programming was proportionately higher because there were fewer total hours of broadcast time.

30. Zusne, Leonard. Measuring violence in children's cartoons. Perceptual and Motor Skills, 27:901-902. 1968.

Most people consider cartoons as relatively innocuous, but a closer examination of their content reveals that many of them contain violent elements disguised as "fun." This researcher measured the frequency and duration of violent episodes in children's cartoons shown by two major networks during one week. Violence was defined as any attempt in which one person inflicted pain or bodily harm, rendered unconscious, forcibly restrained, or killed or destroyed another person, either to prevent him from engaging in an act or out of malice. He found that the cartoons of one network displayed a significantly greater amount of violence than the other, and that on both networks dramatic or "straight" cartoons were on the average more violent than those of the comic or slapstick variety. A surprising finding was that cartoons of the "Bugs Bunny" and "Tom and Jerry" type frequently depicted a much greater degree of violence and aggression than those of the "monster" or horror variety.

AUDIENCE VIEWING PATTERNS AND GENERAL EFFECTS OF TELEVISION



AUDIENCE VIEWING PATTERNS AND GENERAL EFFECTS OF TELEVISION

Theory and review

31. Adams, J. Stacy. Plan 2. A descriptive and analytic study of the secondary, remote effects of television. In Arons, Leon, and May, Mark A., Eds. Television and human behavior: tomorrow's research in mass communication. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963, p. 29-35.

Television programs may affect not only the immediate viewers, but may have secondary effects on nonviewers through social communication. This researcher postulates that the effects on the "secondary audience" are directly proportional to the influence on the original audience; the amount of influence on the secondary audience depends on its similarity to the original viewers. He also feels that the greater amount of attitude change brought about by television on the primary audience, the greater the degree of distortion in the content transmitted to the secondary audience.

32. Arons, Leon, and May, Mark A., Eds. Television and human behavior: tomorrow's research in mass communication. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963. 307 p.

This book presents award-winning plans in television research from a contest sponsored by the Television Bureau of Advertising. The research strategies outlined cover problem areas such as mass and interpersonal communication, levels of taste, the relationship of television viewing to family interaction, TV's ability to induce action, educational television, and the use of TV as a research instrument in the behavioral sciences. Several chapters are devoted to TV's influence on the child's development of taste, the child in the family viewing situation, the effects of aggressive content on children's aggressive behavior, and TV's influence on juvenile delinquency.

33. Barrow, Lionel C., Jr., and Westley, Bruce H. Television effects: A summary of the literature and proposed general theory. Madison: University of Wisconsin Laboratory Bulletin No. 9, 1958. 184 p.

This examination of television effects deals with the relative potency and comprehensibility of television programming. The authors discuss situational, physiological, and psychological determinants of TV potency, defined as the ability to gain and hold attention. They point out the factors that affect comprehensibility, such as interference which distracts from or masks a message;

visual, auditory, and other technical aspects; audience participation; and realism. They hypothesize that communication effectiveness depends on coping with interference which either distracts attention or masks a message. A communicator deals with the distracting aspect by maximizing potency, and manages the masking aspect by maximizing comprehensibility. The implications of the proposed theory are related to specific research results, and brief abstracts of many television and film research studies are also included. (72 references)

34. Belson, W. A. A reply to Parker's note. Public Opinion Quarterly, 27:321-329, 1963.

The author comments on questions raised by Edwin Parker, who contended that the "stable correlates" method does not adequately match viewers to control for initial differences. Belson asserts that his finding that television viewing has increased reading of popular newspapers is not in conflict with other research which indicates that TV tends to replace light but not serious reading. He feels that newspaper reading cannot be compared to other forms of reading, since the reader will tend to view his paper as quality suitable to his interests. In addition, cross-cultural comparison concerning amount of newspaper and fiction displacement by TV is difficult, since British and American viewers may be different. He reviews the nature of his matching technique and lists five errors in the Parker critique, but does admit that researchers could improve control techniques by concentrating on new ways of matching subgroups, reinterviewing people whose performance was not predicted, testing the reliability of predictive items, studying the combined effects of variables, and devising statistical tests for evaluation of the significance of difference and quantitative multiple correlation.

35. Belson, William. A series of four lectures on mass media research. Sydney, Australia: West Publishing Corp., 1961. 39 p.

These lectures concern communication and persuasion through the mass media and describe techniques for measuring the effects of exposure to the media. In an examination of some social effects, he explores TV's contribution to the decline in movie attendance and the sale of newspapers and magazines. Research techniques reviewed include the "stable correlates" method for measuring the effects of exposure. He concludes with an analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of several types of research methods currently in use by commercial investigators.

36. Blumer, Herbert. Suggestions for the study of mass media effects. In Burdick, Eugene, and Brodbeck, Arthur, Eds. American Voting Behavior. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959, p. 197-208.

This sociologist believes that much of the research on the effects of mass communication is oversimplified and artificial, as most studies are conducted by isolating the influencing factors and the people being influenced. Researchers then infer that a specific medium influence operating on a certain type of population produces a specific result. The author suggests that this framework of inquiry does not reflect the operation of the mass media in the real world, and it gives rise to fictitious problems and false generalizations.

Blumer points out that there is a wide variability in the presentation of media content and in the responsiveness of the audience due to their differing interpretations. Therefore, mass media investigators must take into account the changing nature of media presentations, the changing character of the sensitivities of people touched by the media, the process of interpretation that intervenes between the presentation and its effect, and the relationship among the numerous forms of communication.

37. Bogart, Leo. Mid-century America and the growth of television. In Bogart, Leo. The age of television. New York: F. Unger, 1958, p. 1-19.

With the advances of a technological society and the weakening of the social bonds of traditional community living, the mass media have created a new set of common interests. They have also made people aware of what constitutes a good life, and by making the good life visible, have made it seem within reach of most people. To varying degrees, people model themselves after the idealized characters appearing in TV or film dramas. The mass media have thus supported a system of values that encourages striving for greater achievement, which is expressed in more wealth and more leisure. The author also describes the patterns of television set acquisition according to socioeconomic status, family size, and religious background.

38. Bogart, Leo. American television: A brief survey of research findings. Journal of Social Issues, 18:(2):36-42, 1962.

A review of the research on television viewing time shows that individuals at the upper end of the educational and socioeconomic spectrum spend less time watching TV, with the high point at a level just above the lowest income group. As television lost its novelty, viewing became less of a primary preoccupation and more of a pastime. The high costs of broadcasting and program production have given TV a strongly conservative character; because the sponsor has a large investment at stake, he wants to win the largest possible audience. This leads to the selection of programs which are "safe," bland, and inoffensive. Bogart concludes that the level of cultural taste represented by television programming was already well established in the mass media before TV, and that violence and stereotyping in program content do not differ from that already prevalent in the popular arts. TV has not brought about any major qualitative transformation in the mores, values, and cultural standards, but TV content expresses the prevailing standards with a greater impact than the other media. Television broadcasts to millions a sense of common familiarity with the same folk heroes and a common sharing of experience with the same intimate events. He suggests that this standardization of experiences and values may have far-reaching effects on individuals and the society's capacity to tolerate deviance from cultural norms. (4 references)

39. Brouwer, Marten. Mass communication and the social sciences: some neglected areas. In Dexter, Lewis Anthony, and White, David Manning, Eds. People, society, and mass communications. New York: Free Press, 1964, p. 547-567.

This Dutch author urges American researchers to pay more attention to recent European theories of mass communication and suggests that mass communications research has come to characterize its audience as "atomistic." He feels that this approach, by regarding the audience as consisting of disparate and independent individuals, has led to many false assumptions about media effects. He cites one of his own studies on attitudes toward India as an example of why both the group and the individual should be examined in determining the influence of the mass media. In this study, Indian students from several schools were shown films portraying their country in either a favorable or unfavorable light. In tests immediately afterward, students in 19 of the 20 schools where the unfavorable picture was shown expressed more negative attitudes toward their country than those who had seen the favorable film. In another test several months later, similar results were found in only 10 of the schools, while in eight of the schools, the initially unfavorable attitudes had become favorable. He suggests that the opportunity for discussion among the groups who had seen the two films may have "canceled out" the initial effects of the films, and concludes that such factors as the influence of group discussion on attitudes should be taken into account when studying the effects of the mass media. Brouwer's second major point concerns the gap in information exchange between European and American researchers. He feels that the work of German-Dutch communications specialist Kurt Baschwitz anticipated many of the later notions of personal influence theory and cognitive dissonance theory. An inventory of neglected European theories and research of comparatively recent origin would be a worthwhile endeavor, he concludes. (32 references)

40. Coffin, Thomas E. Television's impact on society. American Psychologist, 10(10):630-641, 1955.

Because television has become one of the Nation's principal communications media, this author reviewed research concerning the impact of TV on various facets of American life. He observes that TV is both credited with increasing the family's opportunity for common experiences and shared interests and also blamed for decreasing family conversation and face-to-face interaction. Some theorists stress the harmful influence of programs of crime and violence, the stultifying effect of sitting passively for long hours before the TV set, and the disruptive influence on family life and home study. Others suggest that televison is a "window on the world" which broadens children's experience and makes the home the center of family life. Some research also indicates that TV programs in themselves are neither good nor bad, and that the child's responses to them are determined by his personality and his family and group experiences rather than by program content. The reviewer found no evidence that normal viewing - about 20 to 25 hours per week - causes impairment in school work. He did find that greater parental control and shorter viewing hours tend to be found among children with high IQ's, but there is little relationship between educational test results and the amount of "televiewing." One study, however, did establish that heavy viewers have lower intelligence test scores. Parents sometimes consider children more relaxed as a result of watching TV, and mothers

often feel that TV makes child care easier. The reviewer concludes that TV is a focal point rather than the origin of the psychological problems surrounding it, and is merely a current battleground for traditional conflict. He states that children who are well integrated into their peer groups are less attracted to programs of crime and violence and are more likely to use them as a basis for games rather than aggressive fantasies, and that the large majority of parents are not concerned about violence on the TV screen. (60 references)

41. DeFleur, Melvin, Theories of Mass Communications. New York: David McKay Company, 1966. 158 p.

After presenting a sociological analysis of the development of mass media institutions in American society, DeFleur describes the communicative act as the attempted achievement of isomorphism between the meanings of a source and a receiver via transmission of significant symbols. He parallels the development of social and psychological theory to the development of mass communications theory, tracing the "hypodermic needle" effect to concepts of a mass society comprised of atomized, nonrational, uniformly responsive groups of individuals subject to massive influence from the powerful stimuli produced by the media. As the field becomes more empirically based, new approaches have replaced this conjecture. He notes that research and theory in recent years have focused on the question of mass media effects on the attitudes and behavior of the audience. The major progress has involved identification of key intervening processes mediating the impact of the media. "Individual differences theory" has led to the interposition of selective attention and perception between the media and varying individuals in the audience. The psychodynamic model based on theories of motivation, perception, learning and psychoanalysis has directed attention to variables relating to persuasion and the modification of overt action. "Social categories theory" examines the uniformities of behavior of broad aggregates in their response to mass communication and the differing normative patterns within each. "Social relationships theory" emphasizes the importance of group ties as intervening factors modifying responses to the media, particularly the role of personal influence in a two-step media-to-opinion leader-to-masses process. Related to this is the sociocultural model and the effect of norms, roles, social controls, and shared values on interpretation and reaction of group members to mass communication. He describes the mass media in terms of the functions that these social systems serve in American society, and the manner by which the media adapt and survive despite criticism from political, educational, and moral leaders.

42. Demant, V. A. The unintentional influences of television. Cross Currents, 5(3):220-225, 1955.

The author notes that TV operates as a one-way influence and that the viewer's responses of both deliberate attention and discriminatory selection diminish over time. Televiewing thus becomes a habit that carries weight out of proportion to its intended use. Family routine, social togetherness, and the ease of viewing are factors that promote the TV habit. Viewing may therefore encourage passivity and restrict personality development. What is

presented on the screen may seem more like real life than verbal communication, and the artificiality of TV may consequently be accepted for the real world. Viewing also offers a relaxed situation that can shield the viewer from the complexities of existence. Since television is often more exciting than actual events, viewers may also come to feel that life has cheated them and consequently they may withdraw into a more introverted pattern of living. The author suggests that a critical stance on the part of the viewer should be nurtured to prevent the harmful effects of the TV habit.

43. Elliot, William Y., Ed. Television's impact on American culture. East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1956. 382 p.

This series of essays deals with the way television has affected the general character of American life. The purpose of the collection is to examine how television fits into the culture which has created it and to explore what its possibilities are in that setting. Topics presented include public policy and broadcasting, the Canadian broadcasting system, politics and television, and the educational possibilities and limits of educational TV. Attention is given to how the rivalry between television and movies affects education, not only in terms of audiovisual aids, but also in the availability of good films and in the comparative harmful effects of these media.

44. Forsey, Sidney D. Plan 5. The influence of family structures upon the patterns and effects of family viewing. In Arons, Leon, and May, Mark A., Eds. Television and human behavior: tomorrow's research in mass communication. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963, p. 64-80.

This investigator theorizes that people watch television in an unconscious effort to resolve conflicts about personal development and social adjustment, rather than to be entertained, their conscious motive. He feels that the way the family interacts and handles tensions while watching TV is characteristic of their behavior in other situations. These patterns influence what is viewed, how it is viewed, and the effects of viewing, particularly upon the children. He has designed experimental procedures to test hypotheses about the relation of the family structure to the types of programs selected and viewed, extent of conflict about program selection, and effects of viewing. The research is intended to show how the child's family situation influences the effects of television on him. (22 references)

45. Foundation for Character Education. Television for children. Boston: Foundation for Character Education, 1958. 55 p.

In this report, a panel of psychologists, educators, television critics and broadcasters discuss the impact of television on children, citing their own experience and contemporary research evidence. The panel found little effect of television on young people's eyesight, school grades, reading, or amount of library use. However, the child's distribution of time had been noticeably affected as playtime and amount of time spent with other children had been reduced to make room for television viewing.

46. Glynn, Eugene David. Television and the American character - a psychiatrist looks at television. In Elliott, William Y., Ed. Television's impact on American culture. Lansing, Mich.; Michigan State University Press, 1956, p. 175-182.

This psychiatrist feels that TV fosters traits of passivity and dependence, such as being fed, taking in and absorbing what is offered. TV unconsciously shapes the viewer's character, and its chief danger is that passive-dependent characteristics may become fixed through excessive exposure. He cites several cases of mentally ill individuals for whom TV is a mother-substitute, satisfying childish needs and promoting regression to infancy. Viewing also functions as a sedative and inhibits personal relations. The author raises the question of whether TV ultimately blunts and destroys children's sensibilities, and wonders about the effect of being so constantly stimulated in the early years by television fantasy. This leads him to question whether reality will match up to the television fantasies this generation of children has grown to expect through TV viewing. He concludes that television offers almost unlimited opportunities for enrichment, but unless program content is carefully controlled, TV may be degraded into an instrument for shaping a generation of conformists.

47. Gerbner, George. An institutional approach to mass communications research. In Thayer, Lee, Ed. Communication: theory and research. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1967, p. 429-451.

The communication systems of a particular culture not only inform but also form common images; they not only satisfy but also shape a range of attitudes, tastes, and preferences. This author suggests that the study of the nature and process of public communication is central to understanding changes in human attitudes and behavior. He explores the general significance of mass communication as a new stage in institutionalized public acculturation, suggests approaches to the study of communication effects in a culture, and relates the terms of public acculturation and socialization to the process of social policy formation. He also describes research directions that attempt to answer some questions raised by the institutional approach to mass communications. He theorizes that a more satisfactory approach would not seek merely to determine how the media change ideas and behavior, Instead, it would establish what public perspectives, conceptions, and actions different types of mass communication systems tend to cultivate. He further feels that communication effects cannot be expressed as changes in the image which a message system presumably cultivates, or as changes in personal behavior attributed to specific communications. Attitude or behavior changes may be the least significant indicator of the media effects unless they are part of a general transformation of the communication process that is supported by the changing circumstances of life. Even when opinions and attitudes are changed through the momentary impact of a persuasive communication, this change is unstable and will disappear unless an environmental or behavioralchange can be brought about to support and maintain it. (7 references)

48. Halloran, J. D. Attitude formation and change. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1967. 167 p.

This book deals with the nature, formation, and function of attitudes and attitudinal change. The author discusses the extent to which social science research techniques can be used to examine the influence of television on the formation or alteration of attitudes and moral concepts, and examines psychoanalytic and sociocultural approaches to the study of attitudes. He believes that the main sources of attitude formation are direct experience with objects and situations, explicit and implicit learning from others, and the individual's own personality. The media affect the child's socialization by teaching norms, status positions, and institutional functions. They also present models of behavior and information beyond the child's immediate experience, and provide the child with a wider range of role models and reference groups. The media are now playing a part in socialization that was previously carried out by other agents. However, group and personal influences, personality, and susceptibility to persuasion are still important factors in socialization and attitude formation and change. In fact, survey studies indicate that few individuals are affected by concepts received through the media. On the other hand, experimental laboratory research procedures suggest that extensive attitude change may occur through exposure to communication. This discrepancy may be resolved by better studies about the credibility the viewer ascribes to the communicator and the predispositions and needs that people bring to the media. One study found that the media had their greatest effect as safety valves for the fantasized solution of insoluble problems. However, the children examined in this study exhibited values that were essentially the same as those learned earlier from their parents. The author mentions that even if a preference for TV violence were found among delinquent groups, the interpretation would still be open to question. Was it media exposure that led to the delinquency or something else in the child and his life circumstances? He concludes by suggesting refinements for experimental procedures to answer this question.

49. Himmelweit, Hilde T. Plan 4. An experimental study of taste development in children. In Arons, Leon, and May, Mark A., Eds. Television and human behavior: tomorrow's research in mass communication. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963, p. 46-62.

This investigator believes that acquaintance with quality programming is necessary for building audiences for better programs. Mere exposure is insufficient, since people tend to turn to less demanding programs once they have the opportunity. The TV industry itself creates taste and does not just respond to it. However, taste grows slowly and must be developed. The author views the school as a central agency in developing better taste in media entertainment. She outlines an experiment in which the strength and nature of inducement to watch better programs are systematically varied. Results will then be related to attitudes and personality characteristics, intelligence, and home situations of children. (16 references)

50. Hovland, Carl. Effects of the mass media of communication. In G. Lindzey, Ed. Handbook of social psychology, Vol. 2. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954, p. 1062-1103.

In the first major review of the mass media effects literature, Hovland examines the impact of each medium and looks at the major factors influencing the effects of the media: the communicator, the communication, the medium, and the audience. He notes that the motion picture was the most extensively studied medium at that time, with the most important set of studies done in the Payne Fund series during the early 1930's. Hovland suggests that the data from the Shuttleworth and May investigation indicate that the Blumer and Hauser conclusion, that several important indirect influences disposing persons to delinquency or crime can be traced to motion picture attendance, may be somewhat exaggerated. The author cites the tremendous methodological difficulties in controlling exposure to rule out self-selection effects and evaluating cumulative effects over time. This leads to the application of less rigorous methods to the problem and existence of serious loopholes in the interpretation of findings. At the time of his review, however, television research was far behind that of the other media, and few reports were surveyed. (144 references)

51. Katz, Elihu, and Foulkes, David. On the use of the mass media as "escape"; clarification of a concept. Public Opinion Quarterly, 26:377-388, 1962.

These researchers examine both the functions and dysfunctions of the media by probing what satisfactions viewers obtain and the part the media play in their personal lives. Many authorities suggest that the media are used as an escape from the tensions of everyday life stemming from alienation or deprivation. In this fashion, through psychological processes such as identification, viewers may obtain compensatory gratification and perhaps temporary relief from social pressures and obligations. Studies have shown that children isolated from their peers watch more television adventure stories, and middle-class children experiencing difficult parent-child relationships spend more time with TV. Disparities between a child's own aspirations and those of his peers or parents also are related to high use of fantasy-oriented media. The investigators suggest, however, that the media may also strengthen one's position in social relationships. Children who are attached to their parents may use TV to draw themselves closer to the family, while children who are closer to their peers reject TV in favor of movies. The media may thus be used to compensate for ineffective social relations and to strengthen effective ones. The authors conclude that more research is necessary to answer such questions as whether children's use of the media for fantasizing either drains off discontent, provides insights and analogies that help an alert child see himself better, or - on the other hand - leads the child into withdrawal from the real world, confuses real situations with fantasy, and builds up aggression. (28 references)

52. Klapper, Joseph T. Mass communication research: an old road resurveyed. Public Opinion Quarterly, 27:515-527, 1963.

The author discusses the study of mass communication effects from a functional analysis research orientation. He rejects the usefulness of studies

based on simple dichotomies which separate programs into categories such as "entertainment" or "information." Instead, the author suggests that functional analysis be applied to determine the uses to which people put mass communications and the gratifications they derive from it. Although some studies have used this approach, research has not advanced further because many investigators have erroneously concentrated on cause and effect studies and have collected data that cannot be integrated with other research findings. An alternative is the conceptualization of functional analysis as a look at the way in which some activity or attitude enhances or maintains health or organization. Thus, when the consequences of TV use mean that the individual becomes less "healthy," TV viewing could be considered "dysfunctional." Some authorities contend that the media do not change behavior patterns but tend merely to reinforce existing predispositions, while others feel that depictions of crime and violence will bring forward the maladjusted behavior of children who are already maladjusted. In order to clarify issues such as these, the author suggests that research must specify the precise element of the media situation used by the audience that provides gratification. Knowledge about what it is that produces what effect may make it possible to actually produce functions under controlled conditions, the author suggests. Klapper believes that certain types of depicted violence will be found to have some effect on the aggression levels of some children under certain conditions. He suggests answers will come from more indepth studies of the uses children make of violent material and the satisfactions it provides. (24 references)

53. Klapper, Joseph T. What we know about the effects of mass communication: the brink of hope. Public Opinion Quarterly, 21:453-474, 1957.

This author views the brink of hope in communication research as a new "phenomenistic" or functional orientation that orders and brings together previously unrelated findings. This approach attempts to assess the role of the stimulus in a total field of observed phenomena, rather than presuming that the stimulus works alone. Mass communication media are not necessary and sufficient causes of effects; they depend on mediating factors in the viewers' environment, such as audience predispositions and susceptibility to persuasive communications. Mass media contribute to changes in behavior and attitudes when mediating factors are either inoperative or reinforcing. Not only the media, but the situations under which the media are received, must be studied. Klapper summarizes a large number of research reports from this phenomenistic view, and assesses how well media effects can be analyzed. Mass media function "amid a nexus of other influences." By attempting to see respondents as persons functioning within particular social contexts, and by building the study of extra-media factors into the research design, empirically documented theory may be possible. He suggests that this new approach may provide concrete answers to such questions as whether televised crime and violence cause or trigger aggressive behavior. (53 references)

54. Klapper, Joseph. The comparative effects of the various media. In Schramm, Wilbur, Ed. The process and effects of mass communication. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1954, p. 91-105.

This pretelevision analysis of media effectiveness indicates that each medium has some particular advantages. Some studies suggest that films elicit a high degree of recall of material presented, but only one investigation shows that recall is greater than with print or radio. Films are believed to hold persuasive and learning advantages by virtue of their presentation of concrete visual material. One study showed that most children and many adults tend to unquestioningly accept all presumably factual information in commercial films, and even inaccurate statements or pictures are apparently accepted as truth. Films tend to produce a quality of authority that is conducive to certain types of learning, according to this review.

55. Krugman, Herbert E. The impact of television advertising: learning without involvement. Public Opinion Quarterly, 29:349-356, 1965.

Television advertising doesn't always increase sales by changing people's minds about a product, according to this researcher. It may promote sales by changing one's view about the product, especially if one is not particularly "involved" in the advertising message. He believes the powers of the media are limited - they rarely persuade, but instead they alter the structure of perceptions. The purchase situation then becomes a catalyst in which the product is suddenly seen in a new and different light, although there may have been no recognizable attitude change on the part of the consumer. Changes in attitude may occur after a longer interval in response to previously changed perceptions. The author believes that this viewpoint has important implications for noncommercial as well as commercial persuasion efforts. (14 references)

56. Larsen, Otto N. Social effects of mass communication. In Faris, Robert E. L., Ed. Handbook of modern sociology. New York: Rand McNally, 1964, p. 348-381.

The author describes the sociological perspective for analyzing mass communication effects, viewing communication as both a process and an end product. Sociologists are primarily interested in the conditions that give rise to various kinds and degrees of communication, and how these affect behavior of individuals and the foundation and functioning of social structures. He feels that investigations should examine the social circumstances that influence mass communicator decisions, including the interrelationships between the communicator and the audience. Larsen points out that the mass media, particularly television, may be playing an increasingly prominent role in the socialization process. TV is viewed as the key to any media socialization influences, as the child generally judges other media against what he has come to expect from television. The intense degree to which children are exposed to TV and the kind of content available combine to produce an impressive potential for socialization. TV scans a vast environment and offers a wide range of novel role-taking models for teaching the ways of society. In addition, this medium consistently presents similar models of behavior across various types of content, which may serve to reinforce the impact of the portrayal of methods that are successful

in achieving goals. The possibility of the child learning socially disapproved methods of goal attainment is heightened when many types of programs project content demonstrating the desirability of such methods. Further research is needed to establish how children perceive, identify with, and use media content; then the task will be to sort out this impact from the continuing influence of other socialization agencies in which the individual functions before, during, and after exposure. The author concludes with specific topics for further research, and suggestions for regulation of program content. (209 references)

57. Lazarsfeld, Paul. Afterword: Some reflections on past and future research on broadcasting. In Steiner, Gary. The people look at television. New York: Knopf, 1963, p. 409-422.

This essay examines some of the important problems that television researchers have not adequately explored, and offers possible ways for studying them. The crucial research areas include audience experience, changing public preferences, the long-range effects of TV, matters of taste, and decision-making in the broadcasting industry. Lazarsfeld singles out the question of whether television has a bad effect on children as one topic that should be examined with long-range investigations. Researchers must first define what is meant by bad effects and what is implied by television viewing - the amount of time spent, the programs watched, or the isolation from other children during exposure. He suggests a basic plan for long-term study of the effects of TV violence, in which groups of children are kept under observation for a number of years. In addition to the mass communications diet, this investigation should take into account differences in family cultural background, other leisure experience, neighborhood character, and school quality. (2 references)

58. Lazarsfeld, Paul. Why is so little known about the effects of television on children and what can be done? Public Opinion Quarterly, 19:243-251, 1955.

This paper summarizes the author's testimony before the Kefauver Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, dealing with the state of knowledge in the field, the kind of research needed, and some of the limitations of research in solving problems connected with the mass media. He suggests several "unorthodox" research approaches, such as experiments in making good programs rather than analyzing bad ones and studies of the cumulative rather than immediate effects of television. In order to determine TV's influence on children, long-term follow-up studies are needed to give a realistic picture of the role of TV in the child's personality development. He points out that research is not a panacea, and that some problems are fundamentally questions of conviction and taste, which cannot be settled by research. Lazarsfeld calls for more government funding for social science research, which could aid in improving television programming. All such research should lead to an empirically grounded theory of the psychology of TV viewing, which would enable social scientists to make concrete recommendations to writers, broadcasters, and parents.

59. Mendelsohn, Harold. Mass entertainment. New Haven: College & University Press, 1966. 203 p.

This author discusses the entertainment provided by the mass media and replies to critics who attack the value of mass entertainment. He feels that most authorities in the field have been concerned about the effects of the media rather than its function for individuals. In this book, he examines both the sociological and psychological functions of mass entertainment and reviews relevant opinions and research. One charge commonly leveled at such fare is that it is "escapist." However, the author considers that the entertainment termed "escapist" may not actually function as such for most of the media audience. In considering the role of escape in children's TV habits, some experts characterize a child's TV use as passive pleasure, taking part vicariously in thrills and adventures, and getting away from real-life problems and boredom. They feel that viewing will thus lead to "narcotization" and "addiction." The author cites other authorities who believe that most children in a reasonably stable environment do not confuse the make-believe world of TV with the real experiences of personal and family relationships. There is some evidence to suggest that mass entertainment may be sought by certain individuals who are not enjoying healthy personal relationships or who are otherwise abnormal, but there is no evidence that indulgence in mass entertainment for escape actually aggravates social stress. (280 references)

60. Mendelsohn, Harold. Sociological perspectives on the study of mass communications. In Dexter, Lewis Anthony, and White, David Manning, Eds. People, society, and mass communications. New York: Free Press, 1964, p. 29-36.

The author's major contention is that sociologists generally have failed to study the influence of mass communications as taking place in terms of relationships between people occupying social roles and statuses. He stresses the point that any social experience, such as mass communication, affects an individual in terms of his preexisting tendencies to define situations in a given way. Therefore, the effects of the media should be examined in terms of the complex social web in which they take place. The influence of the media may be major or minor, depending on the social values, attitudes, and habits of communication that already exist in the society. It is easy to overemphasize the influence of the media because they are easier to watch and study than interpersonal communications. However, a new orientation has been developing in communications research, leading toward a view of the media as an influence operating in conjunction with other factors in the total social picture. (7 references)

61. Meyersohn, Rolf B. Social research in television. In Rosenberg, Bernard, and White, David Manning, Eds. Mass culture. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957, p. 345-357.

Two central charges leveled against television are that viewing it is a passive act leading to greater inaction, and that it supports massive poor taste with consequent taste-debasing effects. In studying these issues and examining TV as an entertainment medium, the author focuses on some neglected research

findings. He concludes that in general, although a minimum of TV viewers are antagonized, few viewers are truly enthusiastic or interested. (39 references)

62. Porter, Richard. A quantification of the program preferences of a television audience. Journal of Broadcasting, 4:56-63, 1959-60.

This paper describes the psychometric method of paired comparisons for measuring television program preferences of a sample television audience. The author argues that preferences cannot be measured along evaluative scales, but must be gauged against a specific background of alternatives to the object of preference. The procedure involves the arrangement of stimuli to be evaluated into all possible pair combinations. The observer then makes a forced-choice selection within each pairing. The major weakness of this technique is the large amount of time required to administer all pairings. The investigator found that the preferential method was highly reliable, and correlated strongly with the audience measurement ratings of the American Research Bureau. However, the slight differences between the two sets of data indicate that audience size measurements may not be the same as measures of preferences.

63. Schramm, Wilbur, Ed. The process and effects of mass communication. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1954. 586 p.

The editor organizes this collection of articles around the theme of how communication works and achieves its effects. Topics covered include the types of audiences that mass communications attract, the nature of audience attitudes, and the effects of having different channels from which to select. Communication is viewed as a chain process from the source to its destination. Perceiving the message, getting the meaning understood, and communicating to other cultures are discussed. Propaganda, rumor, and public opinion are analyzed, along with the importance of the group in modifying the effects of the communication chain. Special consideration is given to the primary effect of the media - getting attention - and the principles determining whether a cue from the media captures audience attention. Reasons for reading or listening to the mass media, the receiver's methods of interpreting the message, and modifying attitudes and opinions are also discussed. In order for mass communication to accomplish attitudinal change, a suggestion for change must first be received and accepted. The suggestion is more likely to be accepted if it meets the receiver's existing personality needs and drives and if it is in harmony with valued group norms and loyalties. Change is also more likely to occur if the suggestion is accompanied by alterations in other factors underlying beliefs and attitudes. The book concludes with a review of the general patterns by which attitudinal change can be predicted and a summary of research evidence about persuasion by means of mass communication.

64. Summers, Harrison. Qualitative information concerning audiences of network television programs. Journal of Broadcasting, 5:147-160, 1961.

The author describes the various types of information provided by the major audience measurement companies, including ARB, Trendex, Nielson, and Pulse. He discusses the techniques employed and the qualitative data produced by each research organization, and suggests uses for this information.

65. Towers, Irwin, Goodman, Leo, and Zeisel, Hans. A method of measuring the effects of television through controlled field experiments. Studies in Public Communication, No. 4, 1962, p. 87-100.

These authors discuss the methodological problems of isolating the genuine effects of television from the influence of other factors. Laboratory and field studies suggest different inferences about television's effect on human behavior, but lab studies have limited applicability to everyday life and field studies do not provide rigorous enough controls. They outline a complete research plan whereby rigid experimental controls can be built into field studies of TV effects. Subjects drawn from a random sample of families are divided into two groups: a control group which is allowed to watch TV normally, and experimental subjects who are discouraged from watching programs of interest by a diversion or automatic TV device. This method may be used to reliably attribute immediate and delayed effects to particular programs, commercials, or program types. (23 references)

66. Treacy, David Paul. The effects of mass communications: a survey and critique. University of Illinois, 1966. Dissertation Abstracts, 27:2128-A, 1967.

This is a survey of mass communications from the point of view of the individual's contribution in processing and interpreting information. The author finds a strong tendency in much research to regard the individual's contribution as either constant or trivial, and, therefore, unnecessary in understanding communication effects. Five approaches to the study of mass communications effects are considered: psychological approaches, evolving out of the work of Carl Hovland and his associates, which terminate in a stimulus-response treatment of personality factors mediating the effects of a message; consistency theories of cognitive interaction and attitude change, most notably Heider's balance model, Osgood and Tannenbaum's congruity model, and Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance, all of which tend to deal with the processing and interpretation of messages in terms of an equilibrium-maintaining mechanism; sociological approaches, including the two-step flow hypothesis and diffusion models; functional approaches, following Merton, Wright, and Klapper, which emphasize uses, gratifications and consequences of mass media messages for equilibrium-maintaining systems; and symbolic interactionist accounts of the structure of mass communicated messages, particularly a "grammar" of messages developed from the works of Kenneth Burke. The author considers this last approach as the next logical step in studying communications, since understanding how a message is processed and interpreted requires a rigorous and systematic knowledge of the hidden structure of the communicated message.

67. White, David Manning. Mass-communications research: a view in perspective. In Dexter, Lewis Anthony, and White, David Manning, Eds. People, society, and mass communications. New York: Free Press, 1964, p. 521-546.

This overview of mass communication research indicates that the early conception of all-pervasive media impact has been gradually replaced by the view that mass communication ordinarily does not, by itself, serve as the cause of audience effects. The current trend in communications research tends to regard the effects of the media as influenced by a variety of factors, such as the individual's values, interests, interpersonal relationships, and social roles.

White tries to dispel pessimism over the apparently nondefinitive state of communications research by briefly describing the contributions of sixty recent scholars from such fields as psychology, sociology, political science, and journalism. He touches on the work of several psychologists who have studied television's effects on children in his discussion of the impact of TV on contemporary society.

68. Wiebe, Gerhart. Two psychological factors in media audience behavior. Public Opinion Quarterly, 33:523-537, 1969.

Although many critics and intellectuals regard television programming as trivial and even harmful, most shows continue to attract huge audiences. Wiebe notes that there seems to be an inverse relationship between number of viewers and cultural merit of TV programs. He tries to understand this situation by defining the positive psychological utility of such behavior in terms of two psychological factors: the reluctance of the audience to cope with other people, and their resistance to demands for change under conditions usually created by the mass media. By maximizing immediate need gratification and minimizing intellectual effort, the media excuse people from acknowledging others; they present symbols and images, but never real persons. The media cater to a natural reluctance to cope with other people, and they support impulse gratification when their messages are received in solitude. The author proposes three types of messages that are presented by the mass media. Directive messages come from authority figures and call for learning and behavior change. Maintenance messages consist of everyday communication that requires little conscious effort on the part of the receiver. Restorative messages feature crime and violence, freedom from social restraints, and disrespect for authority, providing opportunity for escape and impulse reassertion. Television behavior remains stable because people experience directive messages as maintenance ones, and restorative messages are frequently presented in a maintenance format. He hypothesizes that the media audience may transform messages intended as directive or maintenance into restorative messages in the case of speeches, documentaries and televised news coverage of the civil rights campaign. For many of the black audience members who carry nearly explosive accumulations of resentment, such messages may be perceived in a personal and literal rather than metaphorical sense, and may stimulate them to gross antisocial behavior in certain cases.

69. Winfield, Kenneth. A summary of reported research studies dealing with selected mass media of communication, and the implications of the findings for school-community relations programs. Temple University, 1965. Dissertation Abstracts, 26:4412-13, 1966.

This study summarizes the major findings of hundreds of investigations concerning the audience and content of selected audio-visual mass media messages. The author suggests the use of school-made radio and television programs, as well as school-produced motion pictures in school-community relations programs.

70. Witty, Paul. Studies of the mass media, 1949-1965. Science Education, 50:119-26, 1966.

This paper reviews much of the descriptive material gathered in the author's yearly surveys dealing with the impact of TV in the daily lives of

school children, conducted over a period of 16 years. He demonstrates how television set ownership has reached a saturation level in American homes, and describes some of the favorite TV programs of boys and girls over the years. His studies show that TV affects reading and other activities to some extent, and not always adversely. TV viewing improves students' vocabularies, and about one child in four reports that television helped to foster reading activity. His assessment of the studies relating TV viewing to aggression reflects the apparently contradictory nature of research findings. The author points to the unpopularity of educational TV and calls for increased guidance of children's televiewing. Witty feels that research should be directed toward encouraging the production of a wider range of suitable programs for children. (20 references)

71. Witty, Paul A. Some research on TV. In Children and TV; television's impact on the child. Washington, D.C.: Association for Childhood Education International, Bull. 21-A, 1967, p. 15-22.

This investigator has found a stable pattern of TV viewing time in recent years, as primary grade children view about 15 to 25 hours a week, older children around 25 hours, and high school students about 12 to 14 hours. Most studies of light and heavy viewers have found little relationship between viewing and success in school. Early research found that television caused a decline in reading, but present authorities feel that reading among youngsters has increased in recent years. However, a disproportionate amount of time is spent watching TV as compared to reading; in addition, other leisure activities are altered. The author reviews several studies of aggression but states that no significant differences in degree of aggression were found between heavy and light TV viewers. He finds that although many persons register complaints that there is too much mediocrity and violence in television programming, the majority of them make little effort to supervise their children's viewing. (18 references)

72. Wright, Charles. Television and radio program ratings and measurements. Journal of Broadcasting, 5:165-86, 1961.

This is an annotated bibliography of research and commentary relating to broadcast program ratings, drawn from both the trade and professional literature. These areas are covered: discussions of ratings and their use; methodology; descriptions of rating services and research companies; and results of audience surveys, coverage studies, and ratings.

Research

73. Abrams, Mark. Child audiences for television in Great Britain. Journalism Quarterly, 33(1):35-41, 1956.

This investigator found that most of the television-viewing British children in a sample of 1,500 eight- to 15-year-olds preferred adult to juvenile programs, spending about an hour and a half with adult shows. This tendency was more pronounced for working class children. This early study also showed that the television-viewing child led almost as full a social life as the non-viewing child. The greatest displacement effect of television was a reduction in radio listening, with little impact on movie-going, comic book reading, or club membership. While working-class children reported that they preferred television to other leisure activities, middle-class youngsters still ranked reading ahead of television viewing.

74. Albert, Robert, and Meline, Harry. The influence of social status on the uses of television. Public Opinion Quarterly, 22:145-151, 1958.

This study examines the television use patterns of 27 lower and 29 higher social status fifth-grade children. The researchers found that the higher status youngsters watched more educational TV, but there were no differences in overall viewing time. Also, there were no differences between the two classes in parental viewing restrictions, although lower class parents tended to use restrictions more often as punishment. An additional finding was the fact that upper status parents more often suggested programs for their child to watch. The investigators found considerable disagreement between the child reports and subsequent parental responses on a mail questionnaire.

75. Attitudes of children and parents toward violent scenes on TV. Monthly Bulletin of the Radio and Television Culture Research Institute, No. 2, 1961.

In a survey investigation, researchers assessed the reactions of 200 Japanese fifth- and eighth-graders and their parents to various TV programs. Five out of 22 selected programs contained violent scenes that parents did not wish their children to see. The scenes that most concerned parents showed the use of weapons easily available to children or contained acts of cruelty that they feared their children might imitate. An analysis of the children's reactions, however, showed that the majority were not greatly interested in the scenes that worried the parents, although both parents and children felt uncomfortable upon viewing the same scenes.

76. Barcus, F. Earle. Parental influence on children's television viewing. Television Quarterly, 8:63-73, 1969.

According to this investigator, broadcasters frequently decline to censor programs unsuitable for children because they feel parents should control their children's viewing. However, research on this topic indicates that less than half of the mothers exercise any control, and those who do are more concerned with the amount of viewing than with program content. More highly educated parents regulate their children's viewing to a greater degree, but they appear to do so mainly to avoid disrupting family routines rather than to shield their children from adverse effects of programming. In a pilot study, this investigator found that parents, particularly mothers, may influence their children's viewing more than previous research findings suggest. From the preliminary work, the investigator has developed a comprehensive model for analyzing parental influence on children's televiewing. There were four basic dimensions: the time that influence is exercised - before, during or after viewing; positive and negative controls; formal and informal controls; and time and content controls. The most frequent types of controls were found to be negative; only a few of the 44 mothers sampled said they forbade certain programs prior to viewing, while most others exercised control after viewing had begun. Almost all mothers indicated that they suggest certain programs for their children to watch. The main reasons for control were due to a fear that the child may be adversely affected by premature exposure to the adult world, and a general belief that TV viewing is less important for a child than other activities. They were also fearful that children might imitate behavior in themes of violence.

77. Battin, Tom C. The use of the diary and survey method involving the questionnaire techniques to determine the impact of television on schoolchildren in regard to viewing habits and formal and informal education. University of Michigan, 1952. Dissertation Abstracts, 13:343, 1952.

In this study conducted during the early days of television, children in grades four through 12 kept a diary of their television viewing for one week and were later interviewed. The average child watched TV almost three hours per day, and older children watched more than younger ones. Reading was found to be stimulated by program content. Television did not interfere with schoolwork or replace other activities within and outside the home.

78. Baxter, William. The mass media and young people. Journal of Broadcasting, 5:49-58, 1960-61.

This study describes the reading, listening, and movie-going behavior of groups of children before and after the advent of television. Questionnaires completed by more than 2,000 students and 1,600 parents showed that the average young person devoted about half of his nonschool time to the mass media, particularly television. Except for book reading, the amount of attention given to the other media declined after television was introduced. Both boys and girls preferred entertainment over informational programs, and both liked the same types of content. The investigator feels that the dominant role of mass media use by young persons requires greater parental attention to media content, and calls for school training programs achieving the optimum use of mass media exposure time.

79. Belson, William A. Measuring the effects of television. A description of method. Public Opinion Quarterly, 22:11-18, 1958.

This British psychologist discusses techniques for measuring the effects of television upon viewers' initiative and interests. The first method is "stable correlate technique," which involves matching of elements in the sample. Rather than reject elements of the sample that cannot be matched, he matches every element by regression analysis or by weighting each element of the sample according to empirically generated criteria. The second technique uses a sampling principle to determine which questions should be included in the questionnaire. Belson asked respondents to list as many "interest" categories as they could, and then asked another group to rank the interests from 1 to 5. Those interests which had the highest rank were used. Although "broad categories" of people developed more interests as a result of TV, the general trend was a decline in acts of initiative. In the greater London sample of 800, the investigator found that TV had reduced the frequency of occurrence of acts of initiative and had eroded interests in terms of identification and activity level. The extent of these losses was closely related to the length of time of set ownership, although in a few cases he found that some individuals developed more interests as a result of TV. Belson suggests that TV has caused a loss of identification or concern with those interests that captured the attention of viewers before the advent of TV, and has correspondingly reduced initiative. Furthermore, television programming of various subjects has not made up for the loss of previous interests and initiative. (5 references)

80. Belson, William A. Effects of television on the interests and initiative of adult viewers in greater London. British Journal of Psychology, 50:145-158, 1959.

How does television affect the daily lives of its viewers? In this survey of London television watchers, the investigator found that the general effect of TV was to reduce both interest and initiative. The reduction of interest was measured both by a decreased activity level and by viewers' subjective reports of lessened concern. Even when particular areas of prior interest are featured in TV programs themselves, the loss is made up to only a small degree. However, the effects vary markedly from one group of leisure activities to another. Movie going and reading were reduced, attendance at and interest in sports events were increased, while club and association memberships remained unaffected. The investigator found that the losses in interest and initiative extended over a period of five to six years. Generally speaking, the loss is greatest in the first few years after TV is acquired, after which there is a gradual recovery. (20 references)

81. Belson, William A. The effects of television upon family life. Discovery, 21 (10):1-5, 1960.

In this survey, a total of 8,200 TV viewers and nonviewers in England completed diary-type questionnaires for the British Broadcasting Corporation. Analysis of the responses showed that although television brought about a number of small changes in home life, they were neither sweeping nor spectacular. Families with television entertained more visitors than others, and in many cases used television viewing as a means of entertaining guests. Another effect was

redistribution of the time the family is together. In general, families were more often at home in the evening, less often in the morning and afternoon. There was a small reduction in adult activities aimed at entertaining children in the home, such as reading stories, but overall only a very small decrease occurred in the things the families do together outside of television viewing.

82. Belson, William A. The impact of television: methods and findings in program research. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1967. 400 p.

The author describes how communications research is used to provide information about people's interests, attitudes, values, knowledge, and availability for television viewing. From findings collected in these types of inquiries, planning studies can be developed to gear television programs to their audience. The author also discusses the degree to which informative programs can be understood by the people whom they attempt to reach. Included in this overview of television research are the results of studies on the effects of specific programs and series, as well as TV's social impact. The author describes the growth of TV in Great Britain and elsewhere and stresses the importance of trying to learn the nature of TV's impact on society. He describes the results from various survey investigations, including one where viewers themselves were asked how television affected their lives. Some stated that TV promotes family life and cooperativeness, while others thought it reduces interests, initiative, and imagination. Viewers also replied that TV may interfere with education by taking time away from schoolwork. In addition, while some thought TV helps to reduce juvenile delinquency by keeping children occupied and off the streets, others felt that it is spoiling manners and lowering moral standards. (368 references)

83. Blood, Robert. Social class and family control of television viewing. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 7(2):205-222, 1961.

Mothers of children between two and 18 years old were interviewed in a door-to-door survey of 100 homes in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Using occupational status as a major analytic variable, Blood found that middle-class youngsters viewed substantially less TV, partially because of their mothers' greater emphasis on alternative activities and limitations on viewing time. Two-thirds of the mothers felt that their children did not neglect other activities for TV, especially lower-class mothers. The typical mother was asked by her children twice a week for permission to stay up past a usual bedtime to watch TV, and mothers from the middle class tended to allow viewing of "special" or "worthwhile" programs, while lower-class mothers used TV as a reward for good behavior or were lax in enforcing the bedtime policy. The families with a single TV set encountered conflict over program selection about twice a week, mostly among children of different age groupings. The most common method of resolving conflict was "equality" where each person took turns from week to week or where the programs were split so each watched half of his preferred show. Most parents felt that there were some programs that their children should not watch, and they particularly objected to murder, and crime and violence in general. The majority of the parents intervened actively by turning off the set or changing channels when they wished to control the child's viewing, and higher status parents also tried to distract the attention of the child or reason with him. The author concluded that most families regard TV

as a part of their way of life which should be kept under control rather than allowing television to control them.

84. Blumer, Herbert. Movies and conduct. New York: Macmillan, 1933. 257 p.

Almost four decades ago, this author conducted a study of the influence of motion pictures by asking 1,800 children and teen-agers to describe their personal movie-going experiences. He found that much of what children see is carried over into their play, and that many report daydreaming as a result of movies. They are frequently frightened by what they see on the screen, and the feeling of fright may exist for some time and appear in nightmares. The movies provide imagery which youngsters use in interpreting life, and many teen-agers develop stereotyped views and resentment against their parents based on what they have seen in films. Movie characters are frequently imitated and their attitudes are adopted, partcularly by adolescents. The author concludes that for many young viewers, films are authentic portrayals of life, from which they draw patterns of behavior and ideas of reality. The movies elicit and direct the viewers' impulses and provide stimuli for emotional release and the formation of attitudes.

85. Bogardus, E. S. Television scale and television index. American Sociological Review, 17:220-223, 1952.

Rather than measure what people actually view, this researcher sought to find out how they would react to various types of TV programs if they had the time and opportunity to view them. The degree of interest in or attitudes toward various kinds of programs was measured on a scale of six degrees of expression, ranging from preferring to watch no programs of a type to wishing to view all, among 20 types of programs considered. An index of a person's reactions to all 20 types could be determined by the arithmetic means and could then be compared to index scores of other persons, or groups of persons, or comparisons could be made over time. The author presents results of a study using these methods on a sample of 1,500 persons.

86. British Broadcasting Corporation. Facts and figures about viewing and listening, in twelve charts with a commentary. London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1961.

This survey investigation using daily personal interviews with 4,000 BBC viewers showed that the average British child between five and 11 years of age watched TV more than two hours per day, while early teen-agers watched about an hour and a half. The commercial television network attracted a somewhat larger audience than the BBC. At any time between 5 and 9 p.m., more than half of the younger group were in the viewing audience, while the teen-agers' level of viewing dropped after dinner when homework competed with television for their time.

87. Carey, James W. Variation in Negro-white television preferences. Journal of Broadcasting, 10:199-211, 1966.

This study reports findings from a sample of 5,000 families, containing about 500 Negro families. Respondents were asked to recall any TV viewing the previous day, and data were charted for 80 prime time programs. Among the top 25 shows, Negro and white preferences overlapped in 14 cases. There was more agreement between races on what was bad on TV than what was good, as similarity in ranking was stronger among least preferred programs. Many of the programs that were most popular among whites were either rejected or of limited appeal to Negroes, especially those programs with dramatic focus on families or organized groups. Relatively high rankings were given to shows that focused on characters acting outside of families and organizations and to programs in which conflict was the central theme. Negroes tended to prefer aggressive visual comedies, and avoided romantic and country and western music. There were indications that because of the relatively larger size of Negro families, Negroes' preferences were more strongly influenced by the tastes of teen-agers and children. (6 references)

88. Chaffee, Steven, McLeod, Jack, and Atkin, Charles. Parental influences on adolescent media use. American Behavioral Scientist, 14:16-34, 1971.

These investigators surveyed the patterns of mass media use and interpersonal communications within 1,300 families. They found slight positive correlations between parental and child indices of total television viewing time and the viewing of entertainment and news programs. The data indicate that parents may influence their youngsters more by what they do not do than by what they do, a case of negative modeling. The results give little support to the notion that "parental example" in media use provides an important model for the adolescent. However, it appears that families with similar parent-child communication structures indirectly produce characteristic media use patterns that are shared by parent and adolescent, on the average. Modeling is strongest for specific types of television content in families with a strong socio-orientation, where parents encourage the child to maintain harmonious personal relations, to avoid controversy, and to repress his feelings. The emphasis on social constraints on the developing child apparently serves as a cue for adolescent modeling of this overt parental behavior. (18 references)

89. Children's viewing patterns and factors influencing their program choices. Annual Bulletin of the Radio and Television Culture Research Institute, No. 6, 1961.

Results of this study show that Japanese children who had favorable relationships with their parents tended to select a wider variety of television programs than children whose home relationships were unsatisfactory. Active children were found to select a greater range of programs than their more passive peers.

90. Cunningham and Walsh. Videotown, 1948-1957. New York: Cunningham and Walsh Publishers, 1958. 21 p.

This report summarizes 10 annual surveys of television viewing in New Brunswick, New Jersey, tracing the purchase of television sets from one percent of the population to almost 100 percent. Average hours of viewing increased slowly to a peak in 1955, and slowly decreased to an average of slightly over three hours per day. Children under 10 averaged about two hours per day, while those between 10 and 18 watched slightly more TV. As television became more widespread, movie attendance decreased substantially along with magazine reading. Radio listening fell sharply at first, but made a slow comeback. Newspaper reading was not affected by the advent of television.

91. DeFleur, Melvin, and DeFleur, Louis. The relative contribution of television as a learning source for children's occupational knowledge. American Sociological Review, 32:777-789, 1967.

Cartoon-like portrayals of common occupations were presented to more than 200 children, and their knowledge of these roles and their abilities to rank them were assessed. The occupations represented three learning sources, including personal contact, television, and the general culture. Knowledge of role increased linearly with age. Males and females showed no significant differences where each had the same opportunity to observe the roles directly or via television. The television data suggest that the medium is an important source for "incidental" learning about the occupations. The authors note a substantial "homogenization effect" regarding children's knowledge of the world of work, apparently due to the stereotyped ways in which TV portrays occupations. They feel that children are offered little in the way of systematic and objective information concerning occupational roles and statuses, and conclude that TV provides children with much superficial and misleading information about the labor force in our society. (14 references)

92. Dysinger, Wendell S., and Ruckmick, Christian A. The emotional responses of children to the motion picture situation. New York: Macmillan, 1933. 122 p.

This early study of the effects of movies on their audiences sought to define emotional reactions to films through laboratory studies of impressions and physiological responses. The investigators found that scenes of tragedy, conflict, and danger elicited the most intense reactions from the under-12 age group. In this age group particularly, there were wide differences in perception which radically affected children's understanding of the story. The anticipation of danger, frequently based on inaccurate perceptions, became a stimulus for emotional reactions, and boys' responses to danger scenes were greater than those of girls. The younger the child, the more he responded to separate items in the film and the less he appreciated or assimilated the content of the story or the significance of its outcome. The researchers conclude that films produce profound emotional effects in children, since they view movies without adult critical attitudes; they recommend restricting attendance at certain films according to age.

93. An effect of TV on children. TBS Research Information, No. 35, November, 1961.

The National Association of Commercial Broadcasters in Japan attempted to assess the impact of television by comparing a group of young TV viewers with a matched control group. The control students displayed a greater interest in static activities, such as reading books on science and composing poems. No significant differences were found between viewing behavior and positive or negative personality traits. There were also no differences in physical activity and social consciousness, although children in the TV group were more individualistic.

94. An effect study of TV on children's behavior with cultural environment as an intervening variable. Annual Bulletin of the Radio and Television Culture Research Institute, No. 7, 1962.

In this study, the cultural environment of Japanese children's homes was evaluated in terms of the children's library, study room, play equipment, and other furnishings. Groups rated high in cultural environment were then compared with groups rated low. Fifth-graders in the low cultural environment group viewed more television than peers in the high cultural environment group, but this difference was not found among seventh-graders. Among the older children in the high cultural environment group, those with television scored higher in reading tests than those without. In the fifth-grade high cultural environment group, those with television scored higher on social studies than nonviewers.

95. An effect study of TV on children's behavior with the difference of intelligence as an intervening variable. Annual Bulletin of the Radio and Television Culture Research Institute, No. 6, 1961.

In a survey of Japanese children, those with higher and lower IQ's were classed as TV viewers or nonviewers. Analysis of their leisure-time activities showed that the amount of television viewing influenced their play more than did intelligence level. Among fifth-graders with higher intelligence, those who watched TV tended to spend less time doing homework than nonviewers. The TV watchers with lower IQ's reported spending more time on homework than their brighter peers.

96. Ervy, Hal. TV murder causes bad dreams. Film World, 8:247, 1952.

More than half of 2,000 six-year-olds interviewed by teachers in private and parochial schools said they dreamed about television programs they had viewed. One-quarter indicated that they experienced bad dreams after watching television. In addition, more than half of those with TV in their homes reported that they were sometimes frightened by television programs.

97. Fletcher, Alan. Negro and white children's television program preferences. Journal of Broadcasting, 13:359-366, 1969.

The researcher found that differences in program preferences among Negro and white children were much greater than the differences obtained in the

Carey study of adults. He found only a slight positive correlation between the two sets of rankings of 75 programs by samples of more than 200 whites and almost 250 Negroes. The Negro children had a strong preference for shows in which the central character was without a mate. Neither group expressed a strong preference for shows featuring crime and violence.

98. Foley, Joseph Michael. A functional analysis of television viewing. University of Iowa, 1968. Dissertation Abstracts, 29:4033-4034, 1968.

This investigator used Stephenson's Q technique and direct questioning to ascertain the functions TV serves for adult viewers. Some respondents viewed TV because it provided an opportunity for them to be with family and friends, while others used the TV set itself for companionship and background noise. Others used television as a source of conversational material, or for advice. Some used the examples shown in television programs to bolster their own guidance of their children, and these adults were disturbed by the content of many programs. Many used TV to help them forget pressures and problems, or to avoid talking to other family members. Most adults' informational use patterns were characterized as "quasi-informational," as they tended to watch programs which combined entertainment with bits of information about topics in which they had a casual interest.

99. Foulkes, David and Rechtschaffen, Allan. Presleep determinants of dream content: effects of two films. Perceptual and Motor Skills, 19(3):983-1005, 1964.

Both children and adults occasionally report bad dreams or nightmares after witnessing a particularly violent film or TV program. These investigators conducted an experiment with men and women in their early twenties to see if material from a TV Western series viewed prior to sleep appeared in their dreams. The first night, the subjects saw a violent episode replete with vivid portrayals of gunfights and murders. The second night, the subjects saw a comedy Western. On both nights, subjects were awakened during dreaming (as determined by characteristic eye movements) and were asked about the dream content. The investigators found that very few of the elements of either program appeared in subsequent dreams, and that the violent episode did not produce more unpleasant or violent dreams than the comedy. However, the dreams of subjects who saw the violent film were longer, more imaginative, more vivid, and more emotional than those of the subjects who viewed the comedy. Personality tests showed that neither film increased or decreased the viewers' hostility or aggression. The investigators offer several explanations as to why the violent program produced more exciting and interesting dreams but did not affect the viewers' hostility. The violent film was more stereotyped and basically less interesting than the comedy. Therefore, the actual violent incidents may have had less impact on the viewers' consciousness. But the general arousal effects of viewing violence may have persisted and produced the more exciting dreams. Since adults are able to distinguish fantasy from real life, the contents of both films may also have been forgotten because they had no personal relevance for the audience. Results suggest that viewing violence may not directly influence an adult's hostile behavior, but may produce a more generalized state of arousal.

100. Friedman, Malcolm. Television program preference and televiewing habits of children as related to their socioeconomic status. Yeshiva University, 1957. Dissertation Abstracts, 22:1097, 1957.

In a study of 160 sixth-graders from three socioeconomic groups, the investigator found a strong inverse relationship between total television viewing time and socioeconomic level. Lower class respondents tended to view TV between 5 and 7 p.m., while the students from upper income families watched most heavily in the early evening. Few parents in any class prohibited specific programs, and children seldom viewed programs recommended by program rating organizations, such as Junior Scholastic magazine.

101. Furu, Takeo. Television and children's life: a before-after study. Tokyo: Japan Broadcasting Corporation Radio and Television Culture Research Institute, 1962.

Several thousand Japanese children in third and fifth grades were asked to report their daily routines in a survey conducted before TV was available in their city. Two years later, after the introduction of television, these children were reinterviewed. About a third of the sample had television in their homes, and they were compared with a control group which did not yet have television. It was found that fifth-grade boys with television went to bed on Sunday an average of 17 minutes later than the control group, and spent about 14 minutes a day less doing homework. Television had replaced some of the time previously spent on other media, and home activities such as chores and play were also somewhat reduced in the television group. On the other hand, there was very little difference between the two groups in time devoted to social and creative activities. The increase in reading ability during the two years before and after the introduction of TV was significantly smaller for seventh-grade boys from homes with television than for controls. However, the girls in the two groups showed no such differences. No significant differences between the two groups were found in their scores on science and social studies achievement tests. Other psychological tests failed to reveal any greater passivity, escapist tendencies, or nervousness in the children from homes with TV.

102. Gans, Herbert J. The uses of TV and their educational implications. Preliminary findings from a survey of adult and adolescent New York television viewers. New York: The Center for Urban Education, 1968. 205 p.

To aid in making TV a more effective educational instrument, this investigator conducted a survey on uses of news and entertainment programs, attitudes toward various types of programming, and viewers' preferences. Of the New York adults and adolescents interviewed, one-third said TV was helpful in understanding personal problems and making decisions, although few said that it helped them make a different decision than they might otherwise have made. They often used TV for emotional relief, but were also depressed by it at times. Although they preferred realistic stories, they also liked programs about adventurous characters. Adolescents' viewing habits were generally similar to adults, but they watched more comedy. They believed, more often than did adults, that TV gives illustrations that are relevant to their lives. The teen-agers also exceeded adults in use of TV as an antidepressant, were more excited about it, and dreamed about it more. They preferred entertainment over informational

programs, but were willing to be informed by the right kinds of programs. Those who thought they had more personal problems found TV more helpful in understanding these problems than their less troubled peers. Teen-agers generally seemed to prefer realistic to fantasy programs. The greatest preferences for fantasy programs came from adolescents who said they were dissatisfied with TV's present programming. Teen-agers generally found fighting and violence more exciting than did adults. The latter were more in favor of censorship to protect children than adolescents. The investigator concludes from his survey that frequent TV viewers may be no more influenced by what they see than infrequent viewers, and that TV has no cumulative effect. It does not seem to influence people significantly or encourage them to adopt radically different attitudes or behavior patterns.

103. Geiger, Kent, and Sokol, Robert. Social norms in television-watching. American Journal of Sociology, 65:174-181, 1959.

These sociologists found an inverse relationship between social class and television viewing time in a sample of 500 Boston residents. They conclude that there is a normative quality about TV viewing, as people tend to regard their viewing chiefly as entertainment-seeking. In the minds of many people, a taste for TV is symbolic of low social status, and middle-class respondents who are enthusiastic about television are likely to feel guilty because of a middle-class "taboo" against spending a great deal of time watching TV. Geiger and Sokol suggest that such viewers continue to engage in heavy televiewing because gratification which is subject to cultural taboos is likely to be considered especially desirable. Thus, the authors feel that it is not surprising that television addicts were found predominantly among middle-class viewers. (11 references)

104. Gerson, Walter. Mass media socialization behavior: Negro-white differences. Social Forces, 45:40-50, 1966.

The mass media may function as socializing agents by reinforcing existing values and attitudes, and providing a source of norms and values which offer solutions to personal problems. This investigator undertook a study to determine how persons living in different social structures use the media for socialization. He found that Negro adolescents were socialized to a greater extent by the media than white adolescents. The Negro "socializees" most often used the media to learn to behave like whites, that is, in a socially acceptable way. This was particularly true with respect to dating behavior. Approximately one-third of those interviewed watched to see if their ideas about dating were borne out on TV, and all generally tended to pattern their dating behavior after what they saw on the screen. Other results from the study indicated that media socializees among whites were more likely to be girls and those among Negroes, more likely to be boys. Among whites, those who were well-integrated into a peer culture were also more likely to be influenced by the media. (20 references)

105. Gratiot-Alphandery, Helene, and Rousselet, Jean. La television et la famille. (Television and the family.) L'Ecole des Parents, 3:24-37, 1961.

In a survey of almost 300 French families, the investigators found that one-third of the parents often talked about television programs with their children, and the others sometimes did. Nine out of 10 considered certain programs to be harmful for their children. When they believed a program was not suitable, one-fifth said they turned off the set, two-thirds sent their children away from the set, and the rest let them watch the program. Some parents felt that limiting the amount of TV viewing was often a good way to encourage studying, while others said that the children became more interested in their school work when shown certain scientific or historical programs relating to topics they were studying.

106. Greenberg, Bradley, and Dominick, Joseph. Racial and social class differences in teen-agers' use of television. Journal of Broadcasting, 13:3331-3344, 1969.

The investigators surveyed the television behavior of 300 teen-agers, one-fourth of them Negro. They found that low-income Negroes viewed more than six hours per day, the low-income whites saw four and a half hours, and the middle-class whites, less than four hours. The white teen-agers preferred comedy shows and general variety shows, while the black youngsters showed a more marked preference for programs in which some type of family unit played a central role. The most frequent method among all teen-agers for deciding which show to watch was reading TV Guide or the TV listings in the newspaper, followed by turning on the set and changing channels until an interesting show was found. Less than half of the sample reported that there were rules in their house governing how late they could stay up watching, and about one-fourth said that adults told them not to watch certain programs. More than a third of the teen-agers indicated that they had the most say about which programs they could watch, with mothers the second most dominant person mentioned by Negroes and fathers mentioned second most often by whites. Lower-class teen-agers were more likely than their middle-class counterparts to think that TV accurately depicted life the way it is, and this tendency was greatest for lower-income Negroes. Use of television as a means of finding out what life is all about was more frequent among the lower-class respondents, as was use of TV as a way of getting some added excitement and thrills; in each case, this tendency was stronger for the Negro teen-agers. The most common functions, which were mentioned almost equally across racial and socioeconomic groups, were relief of boredom, relaxation, stimulation of emotions, and relief of loneliness. The authors conclude that young people emerging from an environment that is below standard in economic and social aspects have been greatly dependent on television outside their neighborhood. (17 references)

107. Greenberg, Bradley, and Dominick, Joseph. Television behavior among disadvantaged children. CUP Research Report, Department of Communication, Michigan State University, 1969. 26 p.

In a study of almost 400 fourth- and fifth-grade children which parallels an earlier investigation of teen-agers, these researchers found that Negro youngsters watched more television than white youngsters, and that children from low-income homes watched longer than those from higher income backgrounds. Low-income Negroes viewed nearly seven hours on a given weekday, compared to four hours for high-income white students. There was more consensus among Negro youngsters as to favorite programs than among whites. Children from poorer homes reported less adult control over their viewing habits. Overall, more than two-thirds of the school children said there was a late-night cutoff time, and three out of five reported being told not to watch certain shows. One-third of all children reported that they controlled what they watched. Children from low-income homes were more likely to believe that TV content was true-to-life, and Negroes were more likely to indicate that television was realistic. Negro and low-income youngsters were more likely to state that they watched TV to learn, and high-income whites, more often than other groups, said they watched TV in order to be excited. (8 references)

108. Greenberg, Bradley, Dervin, Brenda, and Dominick, Joseph. Do people watch "television" or "programs." Journal of Broadcasting, 12:367-376, 1968.

This report compares the general time estimate measurement technique with a program-by-program recall procedure. Half of a sample of 200 adults in a telephone survey were asked to list each program viewed the previous day, while the others were asked how many hours they had viewed. Half of those queried through the program recall procedure reported no viewing at all for the previous day, compared to a third of the time-recall sample. Since there were fewer program time estimation respondents in the category of less than two hours watched, the overall means from the two procedures did not differ. The variances were significantly different, indicating that the program recall technique isolates more viewers with more extreme viewing behaviors. The investigators suggest that the program recall method is useful when one is interested in looking at types of viewers, either in terms of their viewing time or characteristics which may relate to television exposure, since it appears to be a more sensitive procedure, equally reliable and perhaps more valid. (7 references)

109. Greenstein, Jack. Effects of television upon elementary school grades. Journal of Educational Research, 48:161-176, 1954.

This investigator found that a sample of 67 sixth-grade students watched TV an average of three-to-four hours per day. There was no evidence that the school performance of those students who watched televison was adversely affected by viewing.

110. Hazard, William R. Some personal and social influences on telecast viewing. Public Opinion Quarterly, 26:429-434, 1962.

The investigator states that two assumptions have been made by professional newsmen about the role of television newscasts: the news content itself should dictate the method of presentation, and the methods of presentation are the major influences on audience interest and information gain. Socio-psychological theory, however, indicates that factors such as education and occupation are better predictors of learning or interest than methods of presentation. The investigator presented newsfilms, still pictures, and man-on-camera versions of news stories to groups of subjects. He found that the method of presentation had relatively little influence on the audience's interest and learning; their reactions seemed to be determined by certain personal and social factors. The factors leading to information gain from televised news reports were lower age, high education, low religiosity, and low newspaper readership. Those factors associated with high interest were older age, low occupational level, and high newspaper readership. The investigator concludes that a viewer defines the news situation for himself, and that what he learns from news broadcasts is dependent on this definition. (5 references)

111. Hazard, William R. Anxiety and preference for television fantasy. Journalism Quarterly, 44:461-469, 1967.

This investigator sought to explore how the viewer's anxiety, cultural isolation, and social position are related to his choice of TV programs. A scale measuring the believability of TV content was used to categorize adult viewers' favorite programs. Their manifest anxiety, social position, and cultural activity were also rated. Results indicated that viewers high in manifest anxiety were slightly more likely than others to choose programs with high fantasy content. The investigator found that high anxiety led to fantasy viewing primarily for those who were low in social status and who participated in few cultural activities. Furthermore, a causal relationship is inferred where high anxiety leads both to low cultural participation and to preference for TV fantasy. For highly anxious individuals, escapist viewing of fantasy content appears to be a functional alternative to cultural participation. Persons low in anxiety tended to be more active participants in cultural activities and to avoid fantasy programs. TV fantasy fare primarily attracts viewers who are anxious, who avoid cultural contact, and who are low in social status. (13 references)

112. Henshaw, S., Miller, V. L., and Marquis, D. Children's Sleep, New York: Macmillan, 1933.

The movements during sleep of 163 children of all ages were recorded after they were shown a movie shortly before bedtime. The amount of movement increased as much as 90 percent in some children on the night after seeing the film, and the effect sometimes persisted several nights afterwards. There were great variations between children in the amount of disturbance, and some films were more disturbing than others.

113. Hess, Robert D., and Goldman, Harriet. Parents' views of the effects of television on their children. Child Development, 33:411-426, 1962.

Children usually spend more time watching TV than they spend in school. What influences do mothers think TV has upon their children, and how do these beliefs affect their supervision and regulation of the child's viewing? In interviews and questionnaires, the investigators found that mothers are somewhat ambivalent toward TV, and that what they say they do is not always carried out in practice. They view television both as an educational, enlightening experience on the one hand, and as a habit-forming source of nightmares on the other. Although violence is the most frequent parental complaint against TV, generally mothers conceive of TV as a learning experience, although very few programs are educational in the formal sense. They think that program content is more important than the amount of TV watched, but that content has no lasting effect on their children. They also state that there is something wrong with the child who watches too much or too little TV. They feel that a good mother is not permissive or indulgent about viewing, but in at least half the homes in the study, the child turned on the set whenever he wished. It seems that in most homes the young child exercises effective control over the TV set. Mothers believe that parents are best able to judge the effects of any program, but they rarely take the initiative for guiding or restricting program selection. They feel that the only concern a parent need have about program content is to help the child avoid those programs showing physical violence. (16 references)

114. Himmelweit, Hilde, Oppenheim, A. N., and Vince, Pamela. Television and the child: an empirical study of the effect of television on the young. London: Oxford University Press, 1958. 522 p.

This comprehensive study of the effects of television on children was carried out in England with more than 900 students between 10 and 14 years old who habitually viewed television; they were matched with groups of similar size, age, sex, I.Q., and social class who did not view television. The main study was supplemented by a before-after study which took advantage of the opening of a new TV transmitter in one city. One year after the initial survey, they compared a group of children who had since acquired a TV with a matched group who had not, a total of 370 cases. The findings showed that children at each age level watched about two hours of programming a day in a reasonably selective manner. There were no differences by sex in viewing amount, but children of higher intelligence watched less. Socioeconomic status had little effect on amount of viewing. The strongest rivals of TV viewing were outdoor play and social activities. At least half of the sample watched adult programs until 9 p.m., and three-fourths of the votes for the most favored show went to adult programs, particularly "crime thrillers." Girls were as interested as boys in crime and detective stories. Viewers held their own with classmates and spent about the same amount of time on homework. TV dominated children's lives in only a minority of the cases, depending on the relative emptiness of their life before television. Children went to the movies less frequently and listened to the radio very little to make room for TV; comic book reading declined, while book reading took only a temporary drop, as TV often stimulated interest in reading. Children's lives became

more structured with the introduction of TV, as they spent less time "doing nothing." Parents did not control children's viewing to a great extent, although it was used as an instrument of discipline for punishment and reward at times. The TV addicts were of lower intelligence, from working-class homes, with emotional insecurity and maladjustment impelling them towards excessive consumption of any mass medium. They showed less initiative, and preferred escapist plays of the adventure-mystery and family-serial types. According to mother's reports, children under six years old were quite often frightened by the individual acts of violence and the noise of shooting in Westerns. After that age, they learned the stereotyped pattern of Westerns, and ceased to be frightened. Young children liked shooting matches and fist-fights in Westerns, but were made uneasy by incidents which implied criticism of the hero or threatened his majesty. The key factor in whether an incident was disturbing was not whether it was fictional or real, but whether it came within the child's experience and was one with which he could identify himself. Children seemed to be more sensitive to piercing weapons like daggers than guns, and more upset by acts of verbal rather than physical aggression. In general, they reported that girls were more readily disturbed by TV programs than boys, and that veteran viewers were as frightened as recent ones. A child became more frightened when viewing alone or with children of his own age. This book is also described in the programming and antisocial effects sections. (106 references)

115. Hovland, Carl I., Janis, Irving L., and Kelley, Harold H. Persuasion and communication. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953. 315 p.

This book presents research findings concerning factors that determine the effects of persuasive communications. It delineates the major problems which have been explored in the Yale Communication Research Program, and discusses the theoretical formulations developed in the course of the work. The authors emphasize the psychological analysis of social influences and the incentives that the media provide for certain behavior, such as opinion change. Communication and persuasion are discussed in terms of the communicator, the content of his communication, audience predispositions, and audience responses. Findings concerning personality and persuasion show that students with high ratings on inhibition of aggression tend to be more influenced by the mass media than those with low ratings. Those who are more resistant to social influences, particularly those provided by the mass media, also show more persistent aggressiveness toward others.

116. Japan Ministry of Education. Effects of television on children, 1959. Shimbun Kenkyu, 116:4-11, 1961.

A study of diaries kept by 7,200 sixth- and ninth-grade Japanese students showed that those who watched television more than three hours a day also read newspapers more than average. However, these children went to the movies considerably less often than average, and the sixth-graders also spent less time listening to radio. Sixth-grade children who were heavy viewers had slightly higher school grades than the light viewers, but there was no difference for ninth-graders.

117. Keilhacker, Martin, Brudny, Wolfgang, and Lammers, Paul. Kinder sehen filme, [Children see films.] Munich: Ehrenwirth Verlag, 1957, 168 p.

These investigators took infrared photographs of children while they watched movies. Brudny concludes that children of three or four years seem to experience little contact with the film, and that children between five and seven show little evidence of understanding. Children in the eight to 11 year old range do react actively and with understanding, and the pictures also furnish hints as to their perceptions and identifications.

118. Lang, Kurt, and Lang, Gladys Engel. The unique perspective of television and its effects: a pilot study. American Sociological Review, 18:3-12, 1953.

In this small sample study, the investigators examined the reactions of actual spectators of the arrival of General MacArthur in Chicago, compared to the audience watching the event on television. They found that those who actually attended the event anticipated a spectacle, and that this expectation was shaped by the mass media build-up. Many of those present were disappointed by the small, subdued crowds and indicated that they should have stayed home and watched on television. The TV viewers who watched 40 minutes of MacArthur activities in apparently large crowds were not disappointed. The investigators suggest that they were more satisfied because they could see MacArthur better than the eyewitnesses, who could only catch an occasional glimpse of him. In addition, TV commentators added excitement by stressing the unusual nature of the event and its tension. The selectivity of the camera and the commentary gave the event a personal dimension that was missing for those who actually attended. The authors propose that the selective TV cameras leave unseen parts of the event or subject open to suggestion and inference. The telecast was made to conform with what was interpreted as the viewers' expectations, giving them a perspective not afforded the direct observers.

119. LaPlante, William Albert. An investigation of the sight vocabulary of pre-school children as measured by their ability to recognize words shown frequently on commercial television. Temple University, 1968. Dissertation Abstracts, 30, 930-931, 1969.

This researcher sought to determine if pre-school children acquire a stock of sight vocabulary words as a result of watching commercial television where these words are frequently shown and spoken concurrently. Almost 200 kindergarten students were presented 24 words under different formats. While some children recognized some words, the rate was not as high as some education writers had predicted. Three out of five were able to recognize at least one word. Higher I.Q. children recognized more words, as did boys and children from higher socioeconomic backgrounds.

120. LeMoal, P. and Faugere, M. M. Le cinema et l'enfant. [The cinema and the child.] La sauvegarde de l'enfance, 2:66-77, 1947.

These investigators administered questionnaires to more than 1,100 French children between the ages of 10 and 16. They found that more than half of the young people reported that they sometimes dreamed about films they saw. A larger proportion of children from religious homes were affected by "immoral" and violent scenes in movies.

121. Lyle, Jack. Why adults do or do not watch educational television. Journal of Broadcasting. 5:325-334, 1961.

The investigator compares the viewing habits of adults and children to determine whether the reality- and fantasy-oriented uses of television found in children apply to the adult level. Reality-oriented children, described as having a delayed reward orientation, are interested in television primarily for information and entertainment, while the fantasy-oriented young people look to TV for an immediate reward and use it as an escape mechanism. Four groups of respondents, divided according to sex and whether they watched educational television (ETV), were interviewed by telephone and with a questionnaire. The investigator found that adults who watched ETV were heavier users of the printed media than non-ETV viewers, and attended more cultural and civic affairs. ETV viewing represented time diverted from the commercial programming, as ETV viewers did not spend more total time watching television. These viewers were more selective in the programs they watch, and were more critical of the violent, brutal, and annoying aspects of commercial TV. Lyle concludes that the general viewing habits of ETV users, as well as their socioeconomic status, are similar to those generally found in children with a delayed reward orientation. (8 references)

122. Maccoby, Eleanor. Why do children watch television? Public Opinion Quarterly, 18:239-244, 1954.

This investigator proposes that a child's interest in television may be symptomatic of a need for vicarious satisfaction when the child is frustrated in his attempts to achieve satisfaction in real life. Children may find it easier to obtain this satisfaction through fantasy in TV than through social relationships. Detailed interviews were conducted with almost 400 mothers with a child in kindergarten. Upper-middle-class children who were highly restricted in their home lives, and consequently frustrated, spent more time viewing television than others with more satisfactory home relationships. In upper-lower class, however, there was little or no relationship between frustration and TV viewing, and this difference can be explained in terms of different social class norms. In this class, parents themselves spend a good deal of time watching TV, and there is more positive motivation to watch. The child is drawn to the set even in the absence of frustration because it is a dominant activity of the family circle. Thus a child of this class who is frustrated in his home life could not readily view more television than he normally does, nor does he gain the satisfaction of rebelling against the

family norm by watching more television, because the family usually does not disapprove. However, in the upper-middle class, the effects of frustration are more clearly seen, since in the absence of frustration the child is drawn away from the TV set.

123. Maccoby, Eleanor. Television: its impact on school children. Public Opinion Quarterly, 15:421-444, 1951.

Children with and without television in their homes were studied to determine TV's impact on the life of the child viewer. The study found that children at that time were substituting television for use of other mass media, for some of their play time, and for time previously spent on household tasks. TV increased the amount of time the family spent together, but reduced all joint activities except TV watching. Results also suggest that the average amount of viewing is similar at all ages and socioeconomic levels, but there is a tendency for children in the higher social classes to spend a little less time viewing. As a result of television, children do not spend more time with those of their own age. The trend is to separate and watch the set in their own homes. The investigator believes that in early childhood, when aggressive impulses are frequently frustrated, aggression looms large in children's play fantasies, and the youngsters show considerable interest in violent programs. Televised fantasy, however, may both arouse and produce frustration vicariously. TV violence may momentarily decrease the child's need to be aggressive in real life, but if at some future time this need is aroused, exposure to violent programs may increase the probability that the child will actually perform the aggressive act. In many ways, television probably plays a role similar to that of fairy stories of fantasy play, but it is likely that it has changed the quantitative impact of certain forms of fantasy.

124. McLeod, Jack, Ward, Scott, and Tancill, Karen. Alienation and the uses of the mass media. Public Opinion Quarterly, 29:583-594, 1965-66.

Alienation, defined as rejection of social institutions and processes, plays an important role in sociological theory and research. Social scientists have suggested that alienated individuals tend to use the mass media for escape from the realities of life. Nevertheless, these investigators found little evidence that alienated adults spend more time with the mass media; slight positive correlations were found between standard measures of alienation and television and radio time, and negligible correlations were obtained for newspaper and magazine reading time. The hypothesis that alienated respondents would select newspaper content that agreed with their image of a hostile and unpredictable world was also not substantiated, as they were not attracted to sensational headlines. In terms of gratifications attributed to their newspaper reading, the alienated respondents were less likely to give "informational" reasons and more apt to feel that the "vicarious" reasons, such as getting away from daily worries and bringing excitement into their lives, were applicable to their newspaper habits. (27 references)

125. Mehling, Reuben. Television's value to the American family member. Journal of Broadcasting, 4:303-313, 1960.

In a mail questionnaire and interviews with families, this researcher found that more than half of the high school students and almost all grade school children would keep television in preference to all media, if permitted to keep only one. The younger children spent about two and a half hours with TV per day, while high school students watched less than two hours. The number of radio listening increased substantially with age, along with newspaper reading time.

126. Monaghan, Robert Richard. Television preference and viewing behavior. Michigan State University, 1964. Dissertation Abstracts, 25:6831, 1964.

Surveys have indicated that the type of TV program people say they like is not correlated with what they actually watch. This study focuses on the dynamics of program preference and selection using Guttman's Facet Analysis and Stephenson's Q methodology. The author found that the viewing habits of 26 adult viewers could be classified into three categories of viewing preference. Type A rejects factual and fantasy content but likes fictional representation stories. This type also likes moral issues in drama, and decidedly rejects comedy and light entertainment. Type B, a child, likes simple, noncompex, nonmoral fantasy and comedy. Type C enjoys factual programs, especially those with a moral element, but does not watch many of the programs he says he enjoys. Actual viewing selection patterns can also be categorized into three types. Type X (primarily females) watches comedy programs that reinforce the female role. Although individuals of this type enjoy these programs, television is not particularly important to them. Type Y prefers programs depicting realism, but likes his heroes to be idealistic. Type Z likes cartoons but feels uneasy about this preference. He also watches factual programs but does not enjoy them as much as simpler ones.

127. Mori, Shigeru. TV program preferences of children and their reference groups. Radio-TV Education, 16(8), 1961.

This investigator conducted a study to determine whether the values of the reference groups to which Japanese children belong or aspire determine in part their program selections. The research was undertaken among 2,800 children in the fourth through ninth grades. The pupils were divided into those who shared the values of their peers and those who adhered more to family values. The former were much more likely to prefer pleasure-oriented TV material such as action and violent programs. The family-oriented youngsters were significantly more likely to prefer reality-oriented programs and educational films.

128. Nederland Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. Leeftijd en vrije tijdsbesteding. [Age and leisure activities.] Zeist, W. deHaan, 1959. 51 p.

A survey of 10,500 residents of the Netherlands over age 12 showed that boys are more interested than girls or older men in aggressive and adventure entertainment in the media, such as detective and Western programs. Older persons tend to prefer more serious forms of entertainment.

129. Nederland Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. Schooljeund en televisie, Herfst 1957. I. Kijkgewoonten en kijknormen. II. Invloed op schoolprestaties en belangstellingsrichting. [Schoolchildren and television, Fall 1957. I. Viewing habits and viewing norms. II. Influence on school achievement and focus of interest.] Zeist, W. deHaan, 1959. 183 p.

The purpose of this interview study was to gauge how television has affected the school achievement and leisure time of Dutch youth, and the extent to which TV viewing has become a family institution. Researchers interviewed 14,000 children between ages 12 and 15 and their mothers, and found that one out of 10 families had a TV set at home. One-fourth of those with TV were not restricted by parents on the amount of viewing time. Families with a higher education level watched less TV, while social class was not independently associated with amount of TV viewing. Catholic children watched more TV than Protestants. The investigators also found that television viewing did not significantly affect school achievement.

130. Nelson, Randolph James. Relationships of reported television viewing to selected characteristics reported by superior high school students. University of Wisconsin, 1963. Dissertation Abstracts, 24:1505-1506, 1963.

This study tested the hypothesis that there are no significant relationships between the quantity of television viewed by superior secondary school students and their reported fine arts activities, intellectual development, motivation-goal orientation, practicality, and sociability. Respondents indicated how often they viewed each commercial TV program broadcast during evening hours and on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. The findings showed consistently negative but insignificant relationships between televiewing and the levels of development in each of the activities. The only significant finding was that highly verbal scores on the "concept mastery test" were negatively related to amount of TV watched.

131. Niven, Harold. Who in the family selects the TV program? Journalism Quarterly, 37(1):110-111.

In a survey of 1,500 randomly selected Ohio housewives, the investigator found that children controlled the television dial in late afternoon while the family as a unit tended to make selection decisions in the evening. Children were rated as having primary control over the TV set in about one-seventh

of all homes between 7:00 and 8:00 p.m., and in one-twentieth of all homes between 8:00 and 9:00 p.m. Niven found that children in the family were responsible for the highest number of "specifically selected programs" that would not have been tuned in otherwise. This was particularly true for children's programs, Westerns, and "thriller" dramas. The father tended to select specific programs relating to sports, "straight" variety, and news, while the mother specifically chose "musical" varieties, "prestige" dramas, "comedy" dramas, "serial" dramas, and "daytime" varieties.

132. Parker, Edwin B. The effects of television on magazine and newspaper reading: a problem in methodology. Public Opinion Quarterly, 27:315-320, 1963.

This investigator suggests that new methods are needed to study the effect of television on the use of magazines and newspapers. Parker reviews past studies that have yielded apparently contradictory results, and points to what he feels are difficulties in Belson's use of the "stable correlates" method for matching viewers. Two major studies showed that television viewing may lead to a decrease in light reading (comic books), but will not necessarily lead to a decrease in more serious reading. In fact, there is a slight tendency for serious reading to increase with television viewing. Belson's study, however, concludes that the influence of television has the effect of increasing the reading and buying of popular newspapers and decreasing the reading of more serious material. Parker suggests that we need to improve methods for studying effects when random assignment of respondents to conditions is logically impossible. He suggests use of convariance procedures in selection of matching variables. (8 references)

133. Parker, Edwin B. The functions of television for children. Stanford University, 1960. Dissertation Abstracts, 21:2813-2814, 1960.

This researcher studied the behavior patterns of more than 900 children in two Canadian towns with and without television to determine the extent and effects of cultural change respresented by the rapid growth of TV. He focused on two functions of television, the facilitation of fantasy and the provision of useful information. First-graders with access to TV scored higher on vocabulary tests than those without television, particularly children in the high and low intelligence categories. Indirect evidence suggests that TV provides an informational advantage for children who lack reading skills. He did not find significant differences in book, newspaper, and magazine reading between the two towns, indicating that TV does not displace traditional information sources. Television does seem to displace comic books, pulp magazines, movies, and radio. Parker feels that this evidence supports the notion that television replaces other media because it more effectively facilitates fantasy.

134. Parker, Edwin. Television and the process of cultural change. Journalism Quarterly, 38:537-540, 1961.

The researcher sought to test hypotheses about the function of television in our society by examining the patterns of behavior which were displayed by television and the functions these types of behavior had served. TV displaces other behavior only when it serves the same function better, he suggests. Data from more than 600 children in the sixth and tenth grades of two Canadian communities with and without television were analyzed for this report. He found that children read fewer comic books and attended fewer movies in the community with television. However, there were no differences in book and newspaper reading or the amount of time spent doing homework, leading the author to conclude that TV is not an improvement over these sources in serving the information function. (8 references)

135. Paulu, Burton. Audiences for broadcasting in Britain and America. Journalism Quarterly, 32:329-334, 1955.

This author describes the British broadcasting system, and compares the BBC with the competitive American system. He concludes that there is no evidence that the BBC, after 30 years of conscious effort, has been able to develop any consistently higher standards of discrimination among its listeners and viewers than has been attained in the United States. He found that TV viewing had about the same impact in decreasing radio listening in both countries.

136. Pearlin, Leonard. Social and personal stress and escape television viewing. Public Opinion Quarterly, 23:255-259, 1959.

This investigator examines the relationship between the indicated stresses and escape needs of television viewers and their preference for programs which help them to forget personal problems. The "escape viewers," who said they liked very much those programs that "help us forget our personal problems and troubles while we watch them" tended to indicate more stress and anxiety in their answers to several questions that tapped these variables. Pearlin states that TV offers relief from the guardedness and anxiety of the individual who feels vulnerable to other persons or who needs protection from the uncertainties of the world. He suggests that one of the functions of television is to offer its audience an opportunity to withdraw periodically from strains and unpleasant experiences. While TV might help generate the needs to which it caters, the evidence indicates that these needs can be created in experiences quite apart from the mass media. To the extent that TV serves as a temporary diversion from tensions and defers constructive responses to problems, it does more harm than benefit for its audience. (9 references)

137. Riley, John, Cantwell, Frank, and Ruttiger, Katherine. Some observations on the social effects of TV. Public Opinion Quarterly, 13:223-234, 1949.

This study examines the social consequences of television ownership during the early years of television. Television was not a substitute leisure activity for young children, as extra time was provided for it beyond that set aside for regular activities. Children were heavier users of television than teen-agers, watching three hours per day. The investigators also found that about the same percentage of TV and non-TV children participated in sports, although the TV children attended fewer sporting events. (2 references)

138. Riley, Matilda White, and Riley, John W., Jr. A sociological approach to communication research. In: Schramm, Wilbur, ed. The process and effects of mass communication. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1954. p. 389-401.

In their analysis of approaches to communications research, the authors discuss a survey designed to determine correlations between children's viewing habits and their social relationships with families and peers. Children who belong only to family groups are offered a set of adult values that they must strive to meet, and are also usually frustrated by not having very many friends and not belonging to a peer group. Frustration with adult values and not belonging to a peer group may be expressed in media selection. Boys and younger children prefer programs of action and violence, but this preference is stronger in children who do not have many friends and persists among older children who ordinarily lose some of their interest in programs of this type. According to sociological theory, children in frustrating social situations would be expected to have more fantasies of aggression and power and therefore to select media material, such as violent action, to foster such fantasies. The same media content, however, may be interpreted and used differently by children in different social positions. For nonpeer group members, the aggressive content may form a fantasy world into which they may escape from a real world where standards seem impossibly high. On the other hand, the peer group member also likes such themes because he can convert the stories into play activity in his group. (11 references)

139. Robinson, John P. Television and leisure time: yesterday, today, and (maybe) tomorrow. Public Opinion Quarterly, 33:210-223, 1969.

By examining time allocation diaries kept by respondents representing the employed urban population in the United States and 11 other countries, this investigator attempted to determine the present and prospective roles of television viewing in leisure activity. He found the impact of TV on leisure time to be profound, causing a greater rearrangement of time usage than the automobile. A substantial amount of time that was previously devoted to other mass media or to other forms of leisure activity is now devoted to watching TV. Almost one-third of all leisure time now appears to be spent primarily

watching television, but some of this is a secondary activity. In the United States, the less educated groups watch TV more than the better educated, but the reverse is true in eastern European countries. In the investigator's view, there is a predictable, but as yet unspecified, limit to the amount of time people in a given society will spend watching television. In the United States, viewing time has remained constant over the years; in its present state, TV may be close to reaching its maximum audience. (16 references)

140. Roper, Burns. A ten-year view of public attitudes toward television and other mass media, 1959-1968. New York: Television Information Office, 1969. 26 p.

The Roper Research Associates have asked a national sample on several occasions to report the number of hours they spend watching television. There has been a steady increase since 1961, when median viewing time was 2 hours 17 minutes, and 1968, when they viewed 2 hours 47 minutes. College educated and upper income groups have also increased substantially, although their current level of viewing time is about equal to that of the total population in 1961. The most recent survey showed that half of all respondents named television as the one medium they most want to keep, although college educated people rate it about equal with newspapers with slightly more than one-third preferring TV. Among the causes of crime in America, violence in TV entertainment was considered a very important factor by one-fourth of the sample. This reason ranked 11th or 12 suggested causes of crime and violence presented in a list to respondents; theaters showing movies with violence and sex ranked higher with two-fifths citing it as a very important factor. Coverage of riots and crime on TV news was also considered a more important cause than entertainment violence, with one-third of the respondents indicating its importance. Younger adults under age 35 saw television entertainment as the least important cause of crime. When asked to indicate what kinds of changes in program format they wanted, respondents were generally satisfied with the existing balance, although a substantial segment wanted more news and public affairs programs, more general entertainment shows rather than more sports, and more special interest cultural programming rather than more general entertainment.

141. Sanders, James Taggert. A developmental study of preferences for television cartoons. Ohio State University, 1969. Dissertation Abstracts, 30:1887, 1969.

This researcher examined the preferences of school children for animated cartoons, using a modified forced-choice procedure. More than 200 boys and girls between the ages of five and 12 were tested. The most important source of cartoon preference variation was sex, as males preferred highly exaggerated, masculine sex-typed heroes and themes, while females were less uniform. Grade proved to be only inconsistently related to preference.

142. Scanlon, T. Joseph. Viewer perceptions on color, black and white TV: An experiment. Journalism Quarterly, 47:366-368, 1970.

This researcher reports the replication of an earlier study in which he found several differences in reactions of subjects watching a state funeral on color versus black and white television. In the original experiment, the group viewing color TV was more aware of color and was more moved, reporting their experience in more emotional terms. The black and white group wrote far longer reports and wrote in more detail, and paid more attention to the TV commentators. The results of the second study dealing with TV coverage of a sporting event were similar to the first, although emotional reactions were low for both the color and black and white groups. He concludes that color TV is a different medium than black and white, and suggests that it is a new language with an unknown grammar. (3 references)

143. Scott, L. Social attitudes of children revealed by responses to television programs. California Journal of Elementary Education, 22:176-179, 1954.

The author reported some suggestive data relating to the perceptions of reality and program content of almost 500 young children who completed questionnaires in California schools. Two-fifths felt that television sheriffs were dishonest, and one-eighth thought that real-life contemporary sheriffs were dishonest. In addition, three-fifths of the sample said it was all right to use dishonesty in law enforcement. One-third thought that cowboys today carry guns like their television counterparts. Finally, four-fifths felt that law enforcement officers on TV often mistreat the "bad guys." Scott found that the effect of television on attitudes toward enforcement seemed to be stronger for lower socioeconomic children.

144. Scott, L. F. Television and school achievement. Phi Delta Kappa, 38:25-28, 1956.

Those students in a sample of 450 sixth- and seventh-graders who watched television heavily scored significantly lower on achievement tests in arithmetic and reading, and on total achievement. Heavy viewers were from lower socioeconomic status families and had lower intelligence quotients than light viewers.

145. Shepherd, John, and Scheidel, T. M. Differences in demand and use of television programming variety. Journal of Broadcasting, 6:143-147, 1961-62.

These researchers compared the viewing habits of a subsample of 94 respondents who particularly disliked the lack of program variety on television against the remainder of the sample of 1,000 in a government survey. Separating available programs into 14 content categories, they found that there were no marked differences between the two groups in either actual time or proportion of time devoted to the program groupings. The investigators conclude that there is little evidence that viewers who express interest in greater programming actually seek greater variety in their program selection patterns.

146. Smith, Don. The selectors of television programs. Journal of Broadcasting, 6:35-44, 1961-62.

This investigator studied differences in television selection patterns in homes of high and low "sophistication." Where the level of sophistication was presumed to be low, housewives tended to control the television dial, while highly sophisticated homes had selection by general agreement most frequently. Differences between sophisticated and unsophisticated homes in program selection by children were minimal. Smith concludes that unsophisticated housewives are more limited in their interests both inside and outside the home, and thus television is more important to them, and they depend more heavily on it for entertainment. This leads to their selecting TV programs more often than the sophisticated housewives.

147. Some considerations relative to children's attitudes and the extent of television viewing. Monthly Bulletin of the Radio and Television Culture Research Institute, 10(7), 1960.

This study found that Japanese fifth-graders viewed television for longer periods than seventh-graders, with boys tending to watch more television than girls. Viewing time decreased about a year or a year-and-a-half after they obtained a television set. No significant correlations were found between intelligence and amount of viewing.

148. Steiner, Gary A. The people look at television. New York: Knopf, 1963. 422 p.

In an attempt to define some of the issues concerning the cultural role of television in today's society, the author presents research results about public attitudes about TV, and the way it is used. The author explores whether television can be utilized to raise levels of taste and cultural sophistication, whether it has in fact been doing this, and how the process might work. An initial overview of television as a medium details the daily significance of the set and the degree and nature of public acceptance. A review of television content includes what viewers say, along with their complaints and recommendations, as well as what they actually see. One section devoted to television as a viewing activity deals with the conflict between TV and other leisure activities and viewing in the family setting. Interviews with adults disclose that those having young children in the home are more likely to conclude that TV's virtues outweigh its vices. Similarly, personal knowledge of benefits increases faster with parenthood than does experience with harmful effects. The primary advantages are ascribed to television's role as an educational babysitter. The most salient bad influence, according to parents, is violence. Their concern seems to center on the fear of imitation, particularly by younger children, rather than on moral or psychological considerations. The preschool child, for example, may be in an especially vulnerable period in which his physical abilities exceed his good judgment. Therefore, presentation of violence using implements easily available to these children may be particularly dangerous. However, there seems to be a general

discrepancy between what parents say worries them most and what they say they do about it. In the survey presented here, only about five percent of those who mentioned violence as the chief irritant made any specific attempts to regulate their children's viewing of violent programs.

149. Sweetser, Frank L., Jr. Home television and behavior: some tentative conclusions. Public Opinion Quarterly, 19:79-84, 1955.

This investigator found that during the first two years a TV is owned, home televiewing had broadly similar effects on people across occupational classes residential location, and length of television experience. Although he initially hypothesized that the first two years of viewing would especially affect children, he found that the effect of home television on overt behavior was greater for adults. Television viewing also had more influence on blue- than white-collar workers and residents of outlying suburbs than city-dwellers. Greatest effects were not found with owners of new sets, but persisted with only minor changes during the first two years of set ownership. (1 reference)

150. Tadros, Samy Samaan. An investigation of the impact of television upon the maturing process of the adult. Indiana University, 1960. Dissertation Abstracts, 21:526-527, 1960.

This study is a summary of empirical research pertaining to the impact of television on adults' emotional, intellectual, and social development. The author reports the opinions of educators regarding problem areas needing research in order to determine how to promote adult maturity via television. He found that there is a lack of balance between TV programs for entertainment and programs for cultural development and informed citizenship. Television viewing time curtails adults' creative interests and constructive activities, and decreases social interaction within the family. There is little evidence that TV drama promotes adults' ability to deal constructively with reality, and the emotional appeals and lack of integrity in commercials seem to stultify adults' growth. Although TV can promote citizenship and racial tolerance, very little TV time is devoted to shows that deal with these topics. The reviewer concludes that TV is capable of helping adult viewers to mature, but at present does not make a substantial contribution to the maturation process of the majority of adult viewers. Information-type and orientation-type programming contributes the most to adult maturation, while escapist-type program fare is least contributory, in the author's assessment.

151. Tarroni, Evelina. Problemi educativi della TV. [Educational problems of TV]. Rome, Italy: Centro Italiano Femminile, 1957. 44 p.

Survey findings from northern and central Italy showed that mothers and teachers felt that children watching television were awakened to new interests and gained a higher level of general knowledge. Teachers generally displayed a widespread ignorance and indifference about the constructive uses of television. The author emphasizes the power of television as an educational

tool, and the need for children's television programs to be related to the school curriculum. He urges teachers to learn more about television and take greater advantage of its educational and cultural possibilities.

152. Thayer, John. The relationship of various audience composition factors to television program types. Journal of Broadcasting, 7:217-215, 1963.

This investigator performed a secondary analysis on data from three national television audience reports published by the American Research Bureau. He found that children under 13 years of age were attracted particularly to situation comedies, Westerns, and all types of children's programs. Teen-agers were higher than average in viewing of situation comedies, quiz panel shows, Westerns, feature films, and children's dramas; teen-age boys tended to watch nighttime cartoon comedies and teen-age girls preferred suspense dramas and action adventure programs. Westerns attracted primarily adults with a high school education or less, and those from lower-income families. He also found that members of large families viewed more television than members of smaller size families.

153. Wall, W. D., and Simson, W. A. The emotional responses of adolescent groups to certain films. Part I. British Journal of Educational Psychology, 20: 153-163, 1950.

In this investigation, teen-agers were asked to name a film they had seen within the last two weeks and to answer questions about it. The range of film types seen included thrillers, Westerns, comedies, dramas, and musical biographies. The principal reactions to all the films were amusement and satisfaction. The investigators found some indications that the films provided material for continuing fantasy. Films dealing seriously with human themes had a more widespread effect upon emotional life and attitudes than did others. Approximately one-third of the teen-agers identified with one of the characters in these films. However, they were able to discriminate between those films which were true to life and those which were not. The data yielded little evidence that young people are made to feel, as a result of movies, that their own lives are dull. Experiences of fright, particularly long-lasting fright, were quite rare. The only fright reaction occurred among those who saw a detective-thriller film. However, an incident in this film which adult viewers thought might be frightening was not commented upon by a single adolescent. (5 references)

154. Wall, W. D., and Simson, W. A. The responses of adolescent groups to certain films. Part II. British Journal of Educational Psychology, 21:81-88, 1951.

To find out how films recently seen affect teen-agers, the investigators queried young people about recent dreams that were especially enjoyable or shocking, and their possible identification with movie characters and stars. Few responses were given to questions about dreaming, although in most instances the incidents dreamed about were enjoyable. Relatively few experiences

of fright were recorded after film viewing. Boys tended to identify with heroes and male stars, based upon the stars' prestige and physical prowess. Girls tended to identify with screen heroines on the basis of physical characteristics, personality, and character. The particular film seen also influenced the identification process. (2 references)

155. Wetterling, Horst. Das Fernsehen in paedagogischen Aspekt: Bemerkungen zur Wirksamkeit, zu den Moeglichkeiten und Aufgaben eines Jugendprogramms im Fernsehen. [The educational aspect of television: observations on the effectiveness, the potentialities and the tasks of television programs for young people.] Munich: Evangelischer Presse-Verband fuer Bayern, 1960. 294 p.

This author evaluated young people's television programs in Germany and compared the reactions of urban and rural children aged five to 14. Major findings were that with increasing age the preference for television over other media declined, and older children were more likely to select movies and books as leisure time activities. Televised productions of fiction, semi-documentary programs, and youth news were preferred to straight documentaries, discussions, and demonstrations. The author concludes with some reflections on the importance of psychological, educational, and moral functions of programs aimed at youthful audiences.

156. Wand, Barbara. Television viewing and family choice differences. Public Opinion Quarterly, 32:84-94, 1968.

A survey of 200 one-set Canadian households showed that two-thirds of all television viewing activity took place in accordance with previously expressed interests. The remaining viewing time was spent in watching programs that were neither the viewer's choice nor ones in which he had expressed an interest. The father was more likely to view his selection in cases of choice conflict with other family members, and the mother predominated in choice differences with children. Overall, parents prevailed three-fourths of the time when there was a conflict with children. The investigator concludes that viewing is less passive than supposed, since family members in this study generally did not view television when their choice was not selected.

THE IMPACT OF TELEVISION AND OTHER VISUAL MEDIA ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH

THE IMPACT OF TELEVISION AND OTHER VISUAL MEDIA ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Theory and review

157. Abel, John. Television and children: a selective bibliography of use and effects. Journal of Broadcasting, 13:101-05, 1968-69.

This bibliography includes 75 unannotated citations dealing with television and children. The titles are subdivided into three categories: children's use of television, general studies of the impact of television on children and society, and psychological effects of violence and aggression.

158. Arnold, Arnold. Violence and your child. New York: Award Books, 1969, 225 p.

This syndicated columnist feels that America's heritage has created an appetite for violence that is fed by the mass media, which depict violence as glorious and exciting and the preferred method of conflict resolution. He claims that children are particularly vulnerable to the corroding influence of the media, because they may want to imitate the powerful models that are displayed. The mass media also rob the children of real-life experience and blunt his critical judgment, since children are unable to distinguish between media fantasy and real life. The author describes the history of government hearings into the effects of television violence between 1954 and 1968. There is also a brief chapter reviewing the methods and findings from survey, laboratory, and clinical investigations of mass media violence and children. He argues that the Himmelweit results are outdated and inapplicable to the U.S. situation. Arnold concludes that the family unit must be firmly reestablished to resist the harmful influence of the media. Parents should discuss violent behavior with their children and allow only occasional viewing of television.

159. Baker, Robert K., and Ball, Sandra J. Violence and the media: a staff report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1969. 614 p.

The Commission's Task Force on Violence and the Media found that severe violence is commonplace in the TV world, and this violence largely goes unpunished. The central role of TV violence is to provide a successful means for individuals or groups to resolve conflicts in their favor. Even the forces of law enforcement are indistinguishable from others in that they also use violence as a predominant mode of conflict resolution, and legality in many

instances is not relevant to the portrayal of violence. The way violence is shown is generally inconsistent with norms of behavior based on cooperation, nonviolent resolution of conflict, and nonviolent means of attaining personal ends. Regarding learning and long-term effects, the Task Force states that it is particularly important to avoid the assumption that exposure to mass media violence alone causes violent behavior. Millions of adults and children are exposed daily to violence in the media, but the majority of them do not behave violently. Nevertheless, social science research evidence opposes the conclusion that media portrayals have no effect upon individuals, groups, or society. Concerning short-term effects, the witnessing of violence stimulates violent behavior particularly when subjects are frustrated or angered, when aggressive or violent cues (such as weapons) are present, and when violence is portrayed as justified. The viewers are then likely to behave violently when they encounter a situation similar to the one portrayed, and if they expect to be rewarded or not punished for aggression. Prolonged exposure to violence socializes audiences into adopting the violent norms depicted, and they are more likely to sanction violence and engage in it themselves. Long-term exposure also tends to make the viewers insensitive or emotionally neutral in response to violent acts. Children are particularly vulnerable because they do not consistently perceive distinctions between media portrayals of fantasized and real violence. Unrealistic portrayals of violence, when its full consequences are not dramatized, are especially conducive to lowering emotional sensitivity to violence. There is some reason to believe that periodic presentations of the distasteful consequences of violence could reduce violent behavior.

160. Bandura, Albert. Social learning through imitation. In: Jones, Marshall R., Ed., Nebraska symposium on motivation. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962, p. 211-274.

With the widespread availability of television, pictorial and symbolized models play an important role in the social learning process. In his studies on imitative behavior, the investigator found that children who see aggressive models are subsequently more aggressive than children who are exposed to nonaggressive ones. Children who view real-life and film models do not differ from each other in subsequent aggression, but those who see real-life as compared to cartoon characters exhibit more imitative aggression. The studies indicated that exposure to human models portraying aggression on film is the most influential method of eliciting and shaping aggressive behavior. Children in this situation show more total and imitative aggression, more nonimitative aggression, and more aggressive gun play than others. The investigator theorizes that responses learned in television viewing may account for the relatively high frequency of nonimitative aggression after observing film models. The cues provided by the aggressive model may also function as eliciting stimuli for the child's previously learned aggressive responses, and may serve as a disinhibiting influence that overrides social sanctions against aggression. Since the behavior of young children is less likely to be controlled internally, the environment may play a relatively important role in eliciting or inhibiting behavior. (93 references)

161. Bandura, Albert. Vicarious processes: a case of no-trial learning. In: Berkowitz, Leonard, Ed. Advances in experimental social psychology. Vol. 2, New York: Academic Press, 1965. p. 1-55.

This chapter reviews both theories and research findings on how children learn by observation. The author concentrates on "vicarious" or observational learning in which children acquire behavior patterns without practicing them immediately after the observation period ("no-trial-learning"). Furthermore, the author contends that a child can acquire these behavior patterns regardless of whether he is rewarded for matching the behavior of the observed model. From his own research, he theorizes that learning or acquisition of imitative reponses occurs when the stimuli exhibited by the observed model elicit mental representations of the behavior, which in turn are incorporated into a symbolic pattern by the child. Performance of the learned behavior, however, is governed by reinforcements given to both the model and the child. For example in an experiment concerning children's aggressive behavior, nursery school students imitated an aggressive model much less when he was punished than when he was rewarded or received neither punishment nor reward. However, when they were later offered rewards for reproducing the model's behavior, all the children imitated his aggression to a greater extent, regardless of whether they had seen him punished or rewarded. Other findings on aggression indicate that punishment may affect only directly imitative responses, while other aggressive behavior remains unaffected. In addition to teaching new responses, witnessing the consequences of a model's behavior, such as a TV character may also influence the child's existing patterns of social behavior, as well as his inhibitions and emotional reactions. (159 references)

162. Bandura, Albert, and Walters, Richard H. Aggression. In: Stevenson, H., Ed., Child Psychology, 62nd Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963. p. 364-415.

The authors contend that a parent who administers severe physical punishment to a child may teach him the wrong lesson: instead of correcting his behavior, the child learns that aggression is an acceptable way of dealing with problems. Quite frequently the mere observation of aggressive models, regardless of their relationship to children, is sufficient to produce imitative aggression, these investigators report. Overall findings from their experiments on aggression indicate that viewing human subjects being rewarded for aggression in movies is the most influential method of eliciting and shaping children's aggressive behavior. These studies show that "vicarious participation" in filmed aggression increases rather than decreases the frequency and intensity of subsequent aggressive activity and does not act to drain children of hostile impulses. In addition to observation of models, frustration is also a factor affecting aggressive behavior, although research has shown that the reward of aggression and not the frustration of impulses was the most potent determinant of the relatively high degree of aggression found among lower-class children. Mothers of aggressive boys were also found to be more permissive of aggression. In general, the prior experiences of frustrated children along with their personality characteristics largely determine their responses to frustration. Prior reward for aggressive responses combined with exposure to aggressive models makes occurrence of aggressive responses to frustration more likely. Frustration, however, is only one antecedent of aggression, and not the most potent one. (174 references)

163. Bandura, Albert, and Walters, Richard H. Social learning and personality development. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963. 329 p.

These authors outline social learning principles, emphasizing the social factors in personality development that account for both prosocial and deviant response patterns. Main topics include imitation, reinforcement patterns, development of self-control, and modification of behavior. On the influence of the mass media on the child's development, they state that TV plays a major part in shaping a child's behavior. Since the advent of television, parents are in danger of becoming less influential as role models, and are consequently concerned with regulating children's viewing habits. The investigators cite three major effects of viewing TV films. Through observation, the child may acquire new responses, inhibit or disinhibit responses already in his behavioral repertoire, or exhibit previously learned responses like those he sees. The findings from the author's research on the effects of viewing aggression indicate that children and adolescents are likely to imitate the aggressive behavior particularly if it is rewarded or unpunished. A male aggressor is more influential in eliciting imitative aggression, and boys in general are more aggressive than girls, as a result of social conditioning. Whether aggression is punished or not influences whether the child will actually perform the aggressive acts he sees, but he will still learn how to act aggressively in other situations. (598 references)

164. Bauer, Raymond A., and Bauer, Alice H. America, mass society, and mass media. Journal of Social Issues, 16(3):3-66, 1960.

The authors discuss the development of mass society theorizing as it relates to mass communication. Before World War II, there was a preoccupation with the power of the mass media, as a one-to-one relationship between the content of the media and their impact on people was usually assumed. People regarded the mass media either with optimism for their potential usefulness as a functional equivalent for an urban society "town meeting," or pessimistically as agents of destruction of democratic society. The image of the all-powerful media eliciting immediate responses from the atomistic masses is retrained in substantial fashion only by media critics, say Bauer and Bauer. Empirical research did much to erode the notion of mass media omnipotence, particularly the Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet voting study in Erie County that yielded convincingly negative findings and an alternative two-step flow model. At the same time, survey investigations of public information campaigns showed minimal success in producing attitude or behavior change, or even information gain. They also explore the important role of informal communication and primary groups in modern society, and attack the Blumer notion of an atomized mass audience. The media critics' implicit equation of content and effect is also disputed: the fact that there are a large number of murders and violent acts portrayed on TV may alert us to the low artistic state of the media or give insight into our culture and values, but it is precarious to infer impact from content. The authors conclude that violence on TV cannot be assumed to be emotionally damaging to the audience. They believe that TV can teach violent behavior or reduce it, as there may be a great deal of variability of response to communications. TV can have both good and bad effects, and contemporary evidence does not show it has either increased or decreased immorality or delinquency among children. (101 references)

165. Berkowitz, Leonard. Aggression: a social psychological analysis. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962. 327 p.

In this review of theories and research on aggressive behavior, the author devotes a chapter to violence in the press and TV, and its influence on children. He summarizes the various arguments about the effects of heavy concentrations of violence on television. Some authorities believe that large doses of aggression can incite antisocial conduct in children, while others contend that viewing aggression is a socially beneficial release for hostile inclinations. Most specialists agree that extreme reactions to violence occur only if the individual is already strongly aggressive or anxious. Research indicates that frustrated children are likely to be heavy TV-watchers and are especially drawn to programs containing crime and violence. There is not conclusive evidence, however, that their hostile predispositions are weakened by viewing make-believe aggression. However, no studies have proven that TV violence is a major cause of delinquency or crime. Under certain conditions, the viewing of televised violence may instigate hostile behavior by triggering previously learned aggressive habits. TV violence may also affect the child's interpretation of his own hostile impulses. The context of a violent program may determine whether the child decides that his aggression is justified. If the viewing of hostility becomes a common practice, the youngster may also be less inclinced to regard aggression as wrong. Younger children are particularly susceptible because they do not differentiate fantasy from reality as well as older children and adults. However, seeing violence on television is not likely to turn well-adjusted children into aggressive delinquents. According to the author, the probability that television violence will evoke a child's hostility depends upon the strength of his aggressive habits, the intensity of the hostile tendencies elicited by fantasized violence, the degree of association between the fantasy situation and reality, and the degree of guilt or aggression anxiety aroused by his observation. Thus, although only a small proportion of TV watchers are easily moved to aggression, the heavy dosage of violence in the media heightens the probability that someone in the audience will behave aggressively later on. (391 references)

166. Berkowitz, Leonard, Ed. Roots of aggression: a re-examination of the frustration-aggression hypothesis. New York: Atherton Press, 1969. 136 p.

As originally formulated, the frustration-aggression hypothesis stated that frustration always leads to aggression and that the occurrence of aggression presupposes the existence of frustration. Recent research, however, has indicated the need for reexamination of this hypothesis. This book presents further findings of the relationship between frustration and aggression, including the social consequences of aggression, catharsis, and conditions facilitating the occurrence of aggression after the observation of violence. Studies employing both young children and adults show that some frustrations do induce aggressive consequences. However, inhibitions against aggression can sometimes mask the normal aggressive reaction to being thwarted. But even if inhibitions against aggression are weak, overt aggression may not occur on a given occasion if the individual has learned to make a nonaggressive response to that type of situation or if the available target does not have the appropriate qualities to elicit aggression. In general, people learn to behave aggressively just as they learn to display any other type of behavior. Although a frustrating event increases the probability of acting aggressively soon

afterward, the individual's history of frustrations as well as his prior reinforcement for aggressive actions also determine whether observed violence will lead to aggressive consequences.

167. Bogart, Leo. Violence in the mass media. Television Quarterly, 8:36-47, 1969.

This observer makes a distinction between depictions of real violence in the news media and the imaginary or fantasy violence produced by the entertainment media. Dramatic violence is used to build and heighten the excitement of inevitable crisis. The anticipation or threat of a violent act may provoke more anxiety than the actual depiction of the act itself. The level of anxiety depends on the seriousness of the consequences of the anticipated violence, the plausibility of the expected event, and the degree to which the viewer can identify with potential victims. There is also a different kind of excitation when violence is socially sanctioned than when it is socially disapproved. The viewing situation enters into the psychological aftereffects of viewing real or threatened violence, as violence viewed among strangers in a darkened theater is potentially more overwhelming than that seen on TV in a lighted, familiar, and secure home setting with domestic distractions. The author feels that too much attention has been given to the matter of direct imitation of specific aggressive techniques portrayed by television personalities. Another kind of learning may be much more important: the lesson that the world is a wicked and hostile place in which one must aggressively protect oneself. Bogart feels that the greatest impact of the media may derive from the diffuse increase of general public anxiety rather than from individual acts in response to specific media depictions. Although the rationale for introducing violence into the media stems from the media decision-maker's feeling that he must respond to public desires for drama and excitement, the author concludes that if violent content is presented, someone will want it only because it is available.

168. Bogart, Leo. The age of television. New York: F. Unger, 1958. 367 p.

This author examines the television audience and its viewing habits, TV's impact on American life, and unresolved issues created by the widespread use of this medium. One issue centers around the relationship between television and violence and delinquency. Surveys show that a large majority of adults place part of the blame for the upsurge in juvenile delinquency on violence presented in the media, while teen-agers generally attribute no harmful effect to such programs. Bogart reviews the testimony of various experts before the Kefauver subcommittee to investigate delinquency in the early 1950's, which shows a difference of opinion about the influence of television on children. Emotionally disturbed and insecure children are thought to be most susceptible to television's influence; a sample survey of the school population in the United States found that about 10 percent of the students were emotionally disturbed. The author concludes that the real sources of aggressive impulses arise out of a child's interpersonal relationships with parents and peers, and that television may influence the way in which psychological problems are expressed. He feels that the more serious charge is that television helps to perpetuate moral, cultural, and social values which are not in accord with the highest ideals of an enlightened democracy. He also noted that charges raised

against television closely resemble those which were raised in turn against each of the mass media as it mounted in popularity, and that TV has become the focus of recent discussion because it is both the newest medium and the one with which children spend the most time.

169. Brodbeck, A. J. The mass media as a socializing agency. Presented to the American Psychological Association Symposium on Children and the Mass Media, San Francisco, 1955.

The author considers that television viewing is a problem-solving activity for children. He believes that the effect of television programs probably depends on the personality of the child, the viewing situation, and the particular problems of the child. He therefore advises against believing that a given kind of program will necessarily have a given effect. For example, he reports that a cowboy film had considerable impact on younger children, but very little influence on older ones who supposedly had become familiar with typical Western plots. In another case, children's aggression rose markedly after reading a comic book story in which the villain went unpunished, but the children's standards of right and wrong did not change at all. He suggests that when aggression is really successful in fantasy, it tends to remove inhibitions of aggression in real life. Conversely, when aggression is punished in fantasy, it tends to be inhibited in actual situations.

170. Brodbeck, Arthur J., and Jones, Dorothy B. Plan 7. Television viewing and the norm-violating practices and perspectives of adolescents: a synchronized depth and scope program of policy research. In: Arons, Leon, and May, Mark A., Eds., Television and human behavior: tomorrow's research in mass communication. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963. p. 98-135.

Claims have been made that television programming is an important part of youngsters' environment that tends to influence them toward delinquent or norm-violating behavior. These investigatiors describe a comprehensive research plan to determine how adolescents are affected by TV and to formulate policy guidelines for TV programming. In their procedural strategy, they recommend the intensive study of four factors: the predispositions of an adolescent when watching TV, the content of programs, their impact, and the outcome in terms of attitude and behavior changes. They suggest that the values of delinquents may predispose them to use media content to maintain their set of values, just as the nondelinquents do to maintain theirs. They also consider that exposure to aggressive films may require strong defenses against antisocial tendencies, and for those whose defenses are not strong, a violent film may have a triggering effect. Thus the same content may produce conflict for some and relieve tension for others. The researchers caution, however, that if television viewing is found to make children more aware of hostile impulses and thus help to bring these impulses under more conscious control, then censorship may backfire and result in uncontrolled acting out of aggression. (88 references)

171. Carpenter, C. R. Psychological research using television. American Psychologist, 10:606-610, 1955.

The author presents an overview of the problems of initiating and sponsoring research on the phenomenon of television. He discusses some of the barriers to continuing research, such as the lack of facilities and inadequate financial support. Despite these limitations, the author ingests that there are several research areas dealing with the context and content of television programming which could provide very interesting studies. Moreover, the author feels that there are numerous research questions in the areas of program content, organization, and format which are unique to television. (16 references)

172. Catton, William. Mass media as activators of latent tendencies. In: Baker and Ball, Violence and the media, 1969, p. 301-310.

This author argues that it is necessary to assume that the mass media would have to change people's values in order to change their behavior, as values and behavior are not that tightly linked, and people sometimes undertake actions that are markedly inconsistent with the values they hold. He asserts that it is also not necessary to assume that the mass media would have to produce deviant motivation to foster deviant behavior, as this type of action may be either intentional or unintentional. To the extent that deviant motivation may already exist in the individual and to the extent that the mass media may inadvertently alter any of the preventives of deviant behavior (such as internalized values, social disapproval, anticipation of formal punishment or nonreward), the media can thus indirectly and unintentionally foster deviant actions, he suggests. (24 references)

173. Catton, William. Mass media as producers of effects: an overview of research trends. In: Baker and Ball, Violence and the media, 1969, p. 247-259.

Sociologist Catton proposes several unique types of television impact on adolescents in the audience. Noting the current theorizing about the conservative reinforcement effect of the mass media, he suggests that the widespread portrayal of violence may have helped prevent abandonment of the violent heritage of the American society. Along this line, the vast amount of television time devoted to violence prevents presentation of alternative types of contact that might have a more beneficial influence on the viewers. He parallels the impact of broadcast advertising, which achieves the limited function of linking potential customers with purchasing behavior rather than trying to persuade all viewers to act in an intended fashion, to the "advertising" of violence. Where some predisposed receivers of commercial messages may only arouse their urge to indulge in habitual consumption of any product in the class advertised, viewers with violent habits might also be activated to respond to their frustrations if targets are accessible. With the rapid changes in urban living, especially the influx of racially and ethnically different subgroups that threaten interpersonal harmony, sociologists expect that adaptations to new situations may become more violent. Catton feels that violent behavior may be aroused within an audience that contains an increasing number of individuals with violent attitudes and habits, smouldering grievances and easy access to targets of hostility. While television may not have adverse effects on completely normal children in a stable environment, communities are becoming less

stable, family life is often unhappy, and many children are sociopsychologically maladjusted. Finally, he feels that the cumulative long-range impact of violent stimuli, especially when socially reinforced by others viewing the same programming, may require more attention. Television fantasy may become more real when it is not set straight by interaction with other people; if these people have also been exposed to the same distorted material, an illusion of consensual validation to the values absorbed may be fostered.

174. Charters, Werrett W. Motion pictures and youth: a summary. New York: Macmillan, 1933. 66 p.

This report summarizes a series of studies, conducted in the early 1930's, on the effects of motion pictures on young people. At that time, American children aged five to eight saw a movie about once every two weeks, and those aged nine to 19 saw a movie about once a week. Love was the theme of about 30 percent of all movies; crime, 27 percent; and sex, 15 percent. The findings of the studies indicate that the movies indeed had a significant effect on children and that they remembered a great deal from them. Their attitudes were frequently changed by films. Attitude change was barely noticeable after viewing a single film, but was obvious after repeated exposure to pictures of a given kind. The movies often aroused strong emotional reactions in children, and until they could view films with more objectivity, the movies often "took possession" of the youngsters emotionally. In addition to attitudes, the movies also influenced overt behavior, most noticeably in play. Studies of a group of delinquents indicated that they went to movies more frequently than other children in their age group. However, the researchers did not blame delinquency on the movies, pointing out that films are only one factor in the experience surrounding the development of delinquent behavior. Furthermore, the same films may have quite different effects on different children, and it is therefore not easy to generalize about the influence of films on all children.

175. Cressey, Paul G. The motion picture experience as modified by social background and personality. American Sociological Review, 3:516-525, 1938.

The author suggests that critics and popular writers have often failed to include all phases essential to the motion picture experience in their criticism. Disregarding the social background and personal interests of their subjects, they have made sweeping statements about the picture's "effect" even though their information pertained to one phase of the experience. Therefore, some have argued that young people who see "undesirable," "immoral," or even criminal conduct on the screen will go out and do likewise. Much research has been done on the effects of motion pictures on the information, attitudes, and behavior of children. It has been found that young people can be disturbed physiologically, and that young men have sometimes used techniques of crime seen in the movies. The problems of summarizing the present knowledge are complex, and public controversy and prejudice have made scientific study difficult. In studying the movie experience, Cressey advocates the necessity of looking at the personalities and social backgrounds of viewers to study the imaginative responses to movie patterns and ideas before, during, and after attendance. There is also a need to look at later successes and failures in using these patterns, ideas, and values. (32 references)

176. DeCurtins, Liliane. Film and Jugendkriminalitaet. [Motion pictures and juvenile delinquency.] Kriminalistik, 21:7,349-355, 1967.

After reviewing studies on the effects of motion pictures and television on the behavior of children, this investigator concludes that no direct causative relationship between films and juvenile delinquency has been demonstrated. She feels that in many cases films may incite criminal behavior as well as prevent it by providing an outlet for aggressive instincts, but no valid conclusions can be drawn from studies of the effects of films isolated from all other environmental influences. Tests of the effects of any one particular film measure only the immediate, not the long-range effects on behavior. Undoubtedly, films and television do affect human behavior, she writes, but these influences must be considered in the light of an individual's behavior patterns and character predispositions. At the present, it seems that this complex process cannot be measured by any of the behavioral sciences. What appears to be quite certain, however, is that films have minimal negative effects on mentally healthy individuals who come from stable environments.

177. Edelstein, Alex. Perspectives in mass communication. Copenhagen: Einar Harcks Forlag, 1966. 123 p.

This book summarizes relevant research and spotlights key investigations dealing with the audiences and effects of mass communication, in two brief essays covering material originally presented as lectures in Europe under the Fulbright Program. The author cites emulative behavior by children of television violence as one of the dysfunctions of mass communication. He argues that the apparent differences between outcomes of experimental and field studies of this topic are produced by confusion over what is being described: process or effect of communication. The field investigators are measuring different kinds of responses. They take into account predispositional and mediating influences that occur in the natural setting, while experimenters administer a media stimulus in a psychologically confined and limited environment that excludes mediating or intervening variables present in the real-life environment. Children vary a great deal in their predispositional and cognitive modes of approach to program content, to the rewards that are promised, in their perception of meaning and utility of the content, and in the subsequent situations where they may anticipate a role as actors. The anticipation of positive and negative reinforcement from parents or peers acts to filter the content during exposure, modifying the viewing experience. Edelstein asserts that the experimental investigations examine the processes rather than the effects of communication, and this leads to an imagined rather than real discrepancy from the findings of field studies.

178. Effects on young people of violence and crime portrayed on television. Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate. U.S. Government Printing Office, July 30, 1964.

Senator Dodd cited research by Bandura, Berkowitz, Lovaas, and other experimental social psychologists and concluded that the evidence pointed to a significant relationship between violence shown on films and subsequent aggressive behavior of viewers of the film. He reported the statistics on the

percentage of films in prime time featuring violence for each of the networks, and compared these figures to the levels during earlier investigations. The report also contains testimony from network officials, including the statement that the reduction of violence on one network did not result in complaints from the public or advertisers, nor did ratings of audience size decline.

179. Efron, Edith, and Hickey, Neil. TV and your child: in search of an answer. New York: Triangle Publications, 1969. 36 p.

In their review, the authors contend that the most striking finding to emerge from the study of TV's good or bad effects on children is the lack of conclusive evidence to support either side of the question. This collection of articles attempts to delineate exactly what is known and what is not known about how television affects children. Factual information concerning children's viewing patterns has been fairly well established. Predictably, younger children prefer cartoons and similar children's programs. However, grade school children quickly develop a taste for adult TV fare and devote the majority of their viewing time to these types of programs. Parents' socioeconomic class also mediates a child's TV habits; those in the higher strata spend less time with TV than others. Intelligence is also a factor - the more intelligent grade schoolers tend to watch more TV, but shift the major portion of their time to other activities after reaching early adolescence. Opinions are divided on television's effect on schoolwork and on TV's value as a learning instrument. Divergent views are also prevalent among professional broadcasters and educators concerning the suitability of various programs for children: what is highly recommended by some is often soundly condemned by others. Controversy exists too among psychologists about the harmful effects of televised violence. While laboratory studies indicated that children imitate aggression, proof that imitation also occurs in the actual viewing situation is lacking. Although much research is inconclusive, enough is known to take constructive action in devising better and more imaginative television programs for both children and adults.

180. Endleman, Shalom, Ed. Violence in the streets. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968. 471 p.

This author maintains that violence is not inherent in human society but arises from social rather than genetic or instinctual characteristics, and that the tendency to respond violently to violence itself leads in turn to more violence. Topics of discussion include the origins of violence, crime, racial conflict, the police, and communication of the idea of violence. In this latter section of the book, several authorities discuss the effects of observing dramatized crime and violence on social attitudes and behavior patterns. The idea is presented that the media did not create an appetite for violence; they and their audience are part of a social fabric in which violence is a dominant theme. The media merely discovered the potential market value of this theme and developed it. Therefore, studies that relate television or film content to specific crimes may not be illustrating cause and effect but merely the observation of the correlation between events. The character of modern metropolitan life itself may be a causal factor for media content and associated behavioral effects. Some researchers maintain that TV is a preparatory school for delinquency, while others state that very little is known about the harmful

effects of television and caution against premature generalizations. Such controversies exist because it is impossible to analyze and locate with certainty the single cause of a complex reaction like violent behavior. Personality factors, experience with systems of reward and punishment, and self-images must be considered when discussing media effects on a particular audience member.

181. Feshbach, Seymour. Plan 6. The effects of aggressive content in television upon the aggressive behavior of the audience. In: Arons, Leon, and May, Mark A., Eds. Television and human behavior: tomorrow's research in mass communication. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963. p. 83-97.

Experimental findings have demonstrated that viewing aggression on TV can both stimulate and reduce subsequent aggressive behavior. This investigator's earlier work indicates that if a subject is angry at the time he sees aggression, he becomes less aggressive, whereas if he is not angry, his subsequent hostility may increase. The investigator now outlines research methods to determine the effects of single and long-term exposures to aggressive TV programs on children aged nine to 12. His plan delineates characteristics of the programs, such as amount of aggressive content, emotional involvement of the characters, and the outcome of the program. Characteristics of the children under study are age, sex, intensity of their hostile impulses, and emotional state at the time of viewing. Some hypotheses to be tested include the following: after viewing an aggressive film, aggression will be reduced in angry subjects and increased in nonhostile children; real actors have greater effects than cartoon characters; children witnessing an aggressive child will exhibit the greatest amount of aggressive play; and, seeing an aggressor rewarded increases subsequent aggression, while seeing him punished decreases it. (11 references)

182. Flanders, James P. A review of imitative behavior. Psychological Bulletin, 69:316-337, 1968.

This author presents a comprehensive review of studies exploring the causal relations between a model's behavior and children's imitation. He discusses and evaluates viewpoints about imitation including psychoanalytic and behavioral theories. Research findings indicate that the more the child is presented with a reward for making responses similar to the model (i.e., the greater reinforcement), the more he exhibits imitative behavior, while punishment decreases his degree of imitation. Children can also experience rewards vicariously. Thus, observing the model being reinforced has the same effect upon the child as receiving direct reinforcement, i.e., the likelihood of imitation increases. Both vicarious and direct reinforcement encourage imitation but even when neither the child nor the model receive reinforcement the child may still imitate the model. Offering a child incentives for producing previously prohibited behavior also acts to lower his inhibitions. The effects of live models on imitative behavior are more enduring over time, but there are no substantial differences in children's degree of imitation after observing live or filmed adult or cartoon models. Even though children may not imitate a model immediately after the observation period, there is evidence that they can acquire the behavior patterns demonstrated and exhibit them at a later period. In general, however, little is known about the perseverance of imitative tendencies over time. (154 references)

183. Garry, Ralph. Television's impact on the child. In: Children and TV; television's impact on the child. Washington, D.C.: Association for Childhood Education International, Bull. 21-A, 1967. p. 7-13.

Although little is known about the effects of TV entertainment programs, studies of educational television indicate that TV can affect knowledge, concepts, and attitudes. At ages six to eight, youngsters find it difficult to follow a plot but can grasp the interpersonal relationships on the screen, particularly those involving children. By age nine, comprehension has improved, and three out of five 11- and 12-year-olds can fully reproduce program plots. Since the majority of younger viewers, however, view programs out of context and do not distinguish between fantasy and reality, they are emotionally vulnerable to TV's effects. Preschool and primary-grade children accept what they see on TV as real but consider it as part of their play life. Even after they develop some emotional detachment, they still ascribe a high degree of credibility to TV. They are most likely to be influenced by TV when no other sources of information are available. He describes one study where parents identified violent film segments that they did not want their children to view. When children viewed these scenes, they showed little interest, suggesting that the nature of violence, as well as the amount, must be considered. Westerns were found to be less disturbing than crime and detective programs, in which motives are more complex, characters are not clear-cut, settings are familiar, violence is realistic, and conflicts are not resolved. The closer aggression is to real life, the more likely it is to disturb the child and be imitated by him. Being expressed in play does not imply that the behavior will carry over into real life - this depends on the similarity between the observation or learning situation and the situation in which learning can be applied. Thus, events shown on TV involving children probably have a greater impact, since young viewers are sensitive to what they see happening to children on TV, particularly those of similar age and sex. They may completely miss the point of adult interactions which they view on television.

184. Goranson, Richard E. The catharsis effect: two opposing views. In: Baker and Ball, Violence and the media, 1969, p. 453-459.

This author reviews the experimental studies relating to the catharsis hypothesis that the impulse to aggression can be "purged" through the observation of aggression in the mass media. He finds only a single study giving any support to this doctrine; a study using paper and pencil measures of hostility obtained after the presentation, without any justifying context, of a highly aggressive fight scene. He asserts that additional experiments have indicated that the results of this study were very likely due to the arousal of aggression anxiety and the subsequent inhibition of overt hostility. More recent experiments have minimized the factor of aggression anxiety, and have almost uniformly shown that observed violence results in the stimulation of aggression, rather than a cathartic discharge of aggressive energies. Goranson feels that some of the persistence of the aggression catharsis notion has stemmed from a misapplication of Aristotle's original conception of catharsis, which applied only to tragic feelings of grief and fear which could be discharged through active expression by the audience.

185. Goranson, Richard E. A review of recent literature on psychological effects of media portrayals of violence. Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, 1969. 46 p.

This survey of the literature focuses on a critical discusssion of the methodology, content, and implications of prior research on televised aggression and social behavior. The reviewer points out that although many studies show that children do imitate aggression, the children were frustrated prior to testing and were tested immediately after the viewing period in a situation highly similar to one in which the model performed. Other experiments show that children retain aggressive responses when they are periodically tested over a period of several months. The investigator feels that these types of imitation studies are not completely analogous to the everyday TV viewing situation, since periodic testing provides practice sessions, and the length of retention of unpracticed aggression responses is not known. In addition, the similarity between the initial viewing situation and the later behavior setting is an important factor to consider in evaluating the likely effects of media violence. Some studies have indicated that cartoon films induce little imitative aggression, apparently because the behavior settings used in testing contained few of the cues present in the cartoon. These results imply that aggressive behavior learned from realistically portrayed violence is more likely to appear later on than that learned from fantasy settings. Although the media constantly show children that aggression is an effective means to achieve goals, parental restriction can control imitative aggression, at least as long as adults are present. Since the child may become progressively less responsive to repeated scenes of violence, it has been suggested that aggression can be reduced by observing violence. However, recent studies have not supported this view, and most have shown a stimulating effect. Inhibition of aggression may result when an angered viewer watches an unjustified aggressive action, and the perception of horrible effects of violence may sensitize the child to the harm his aggression might inflict. However, media production codes usually prohibit the presentation of particularly distasteful outcomes of violence. When this self-censorship omits the real consequences of aggression, the result is the unwitting creation of the very conditions found most conducive to aggression. The reviewer concludes that the actual performance of aggressive behavior learned from the media is largely contingent on the child's belief in the effectiveness of aggression in attaining his goals while avoiding punishment. (55 references)

186. Halloran, James D. The effects of mass communication with special reference to television. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1964. 83 p.

One of the main objectives of this work is to sum up what is known about television's effects on children. The author discusses the problem areas, introduces theoretical frameworks, and draws attention to research difficulties. He finds that television has had an impact on children's values and outlook, and has cut down on the use of other media. The effects, however, depend on what is shown and what is given up to make time for viewing. Children learn to like programs available to them, even those they ordinarily would not have selected; thus, TV influences taste. As far as schoolwork is concerned, TV seems to be neither a handicap nor a boon. Although the knowledge gained from TV may not be useful, TV is evidently better at stimulating interest than at stimulating intellectual and creative activities. The author suggests that

for improved research, investigators need to replace the question of what television does to people with an inquiry into what people do with television - what generally brings them to the media, what satisfactions they derive from them, and how the media affect behavior and values. For example, escapist material may act as an obstacle to the real solutions of the very problems that initially prompted the individual to seek this material from the media. Intelligent, stable youngsters with adequate social and family relationships are not likely to seek out escapist material. Media content does not appear to be a prime cause of any particular way of life, although it does serve the psychological needs and does reinforce the ways of life already characteristic of its audience. Although aggression-imitation experiments do not show whether the effects will become generalized, violent content reinforces existing behavior and apparently intensifies the difficulties of frustrated and maladjusted children; in this fashion it may encourage violence. In general, media effects result from the interplay between the nature of the medium, the content of the communication, and characteristics of the viewer.

187. Halloran, James D. Television and violence. In: Larsen, Otto, Ed. Violence and the mass media. New York: Harper & Row, 1968. p. 139-151.

The author notes that studies have shown that the general public tends to express three basic objections to televised violence: small children are disturbed and frightened by scenes of violence; these scenes could lead children to dangerous and disastrous experiments; and the barrage of media violence encourages antisocial, callous, and vicious attitudes and behavior. He says that the bulk of scientific evidence demonstrates that television violence can instigate aggressive behavior immediately following the viewing experience. In this context, the author reviews the results and implications of several experimental studies illustrating how children imitate aggressive behavior shown to them on film. He cautions that it is necessary to distinguish between readiness for aggression and overt aggressive behavior in social situations. The child's personality and social situation play a large role in determining the significance he attaches to what is presented on the TV screen. He concludes that violence on television cannot be studied in isolation, but rather in conjunction with the whole social and economic structure of society.

188. Hartley, Ruth L. The impact of viewing "aggression": studies and problems of extrapolation. New York: Columbia Broadcasting System Office of Social Research, 1964, 51 p.

This evaluation of studies of film-induced aggression assesses the methodology and findings of the research and the validity of generalizing these research results to real-life situations. The author states that in order to generalize these findings, the subjects must be representative and the viewing conditions, stimulus material, behavior, and social context must be similar to real life. One problem in studies of this type is that no consistent definition of aggression is used. In most imitative aggression studies, aggression is measured in children's play behavior and consists of rough handling of toys, a choice of playing with aggressive and nonaggressive toys, and verbal attacks on the toys. The author challenges the validity of these research results because aggression was considered as attacking a toy designed for rough play, rather than a person. In addition, the stimulus material consisted of

exhibitions by adults outside of a social context, no indications of punishment were given, and the children were placed in a situation identical to that of the adult in the film. She thus feels that play behavior cannot serve as an accurate predictor of nonplay behavior because the former occurs in a permissive situation. In addition, no attempts were made to measure the duration of aggression. Even in studies in which the aggressive adult, although punished, was later imitated, this may be mere imitation, rather than learning to be aggressive. One study in which children had the opportunity to be aggressive to other children revealed no increase in aggression after viewing aggressive films. In general, the author believes that these studies provide no basis for the alarmist statements they have provoked; the stimulus material did not depict aggression in the socially accepted sense and the criterion behavior involved actual aggression in only one case, where results were negative. Other experiments with adolescents and young adults indicate that subjects are most likely to remember the events and behaviors surrounding the film characters with whom they most identify, and do not remember aggressive content if it does not involve these figures. She concludes her review by outlining a research program on television and aggression that is more congruent with real life than previous studies. (23 references)

189. Klapper, Joseph. The effects of mass communication. New York: Free Press, 1960. 257 p.

This author attempts to integrate research findings and expert conjecture into some tentative generalizations about mass media influence on attitudes and behavior. His "phenomenistic" or functional approach represents a shift away from the tendency to regard mass communication as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, toward an orientation of the mass media as influences that interact with other factors in a total situation. He devotes one chapter to a review and discussion of early survey research on how children react to crime and violence presented by the mass media, particularly television. Content analysis studies have shown that there is a heavy diet of crime and violence on the TV screen, especially during peak children's viewing hours. Klapper points out that some of these surveys define violence so broadly that the psychological validity is questionable, and that analysts concentrate almost exclusively on violence portrayed on fictional television programs rather than on documentaries or news reports. He discusses how immediate emotional effects vary according to the reality of the violence, the conventionality of the dramatic format, and the setting in which viewing occurs. It appears that about one-fifth of the youthful viewers are occasionally frightened and a larger proportion dislike certain forms of aggression or violence on TV. However, little is known about the psychological significance or duration of emotional effects. Results from other studies indicate that exposure to crime and violence is not a crucial determinant of delinquent behavior, although such fare may serve to reinforce anticipated behavioral tendencies among children who are already socially maladjusted. He feels that any connections between watching television and overt behavior is indirect, mediated by a variety of factors. In addition, the direction of causation in such a relationship may flow in the opposite direction, as a child's interest in TV programs is determined by his psychological needs, anxieties, spare-time interests, and general outlook, along with his age, sex, and intelligence. (272 references)

190. Krugman, Herbert, and Hartley, Eugene. Passive learning from television. Public Opinion Quarterly, 34:184-90, 1970.

These authors note that learning is generally conceived as active and purposive behavior, involving motivation, practice, and achievement. They focus on passive learning, on what is "caught" rather than "taught," and on the processes by which such learning may take place. Passive learning is typically effortless, responsive to animated stimuli, amenable to artificial aid to relaxation, and characterized by an absence of resistance to what is learned. They feel that for public television, there may be an opportunity to accept without shame the fact that it has taught violence to an entire generation. The clear story of television violence is not that a new generation is more violent, but that it knows more violence. (8 references)

191. Larsen, Otto N. Controversies about the mass communication of violence. In: Wolfgang, Marvin E., Ed. Patterns of violence. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1966. p. 37-49.

It is generally acknowledged that TV and other forms of mass communication serve large doses of violence to their audiences. The author explores two areas of contention stemming from this fact - the controversy over the effects of media violence, and the argument over the control of the portrayal of such violence. Prominent authorities, including sociologists, psychiatrists, and economists, hold varying opinions on the effects of media violence. One group maintains that nothing is really known about the relationship, if any, between the incidence of violence in media programs and the likelihood that it will produce undesirable effects. On the other hand, a leading psychiatrist maintains, from his clinical studies, that the presentation of violence has grossly harmful effects, leading to a loss of emotional spontaneity and development of hostility and insensitivity. An economist holds that TV is used as a scapegoat for threats to the integrity of a technologically oriented society. Media violence may be a symptom of general social ills and not a cause. Recent research indicates that exposure to mass violence can directly induce aggressive behavior in both children and adults, but further work is needed to establish the social implications of such findings. Whether media control mechanisms are needed, and what they should be, depends on further research. (25 references)

192. Littner, Ner. A psychiatrist looks at television and violence. Television Quarterly, 8:7-23, 1969.

Some problems involved in measuring the psychological impact of televised violence include isolating the particular factor being measured, selecting an adequate control group, measuring the full effects, and following the viewer for a length of time necessary to obtain full and complete results. According to this psychiatrist, valid psychological studies on media effects require data that cover three generations. In discussing how to determine what is a cause and what is an effect, he states that the vast amount of violence on TV is basically a reflection of the violent interests of the viewers, and thus a symptom and not a cause. He feels that when honestly portrayed, violence does not elicit violence in those viewers who are not already violent. For aggressive viewers, however, exposure can provide a model for further aggression. Repeated exposures may possibly interfere with the development of impulse control in

normal or disturbed children, but should not have a marked pathological impact on the average adult. An adult exposed to little or moderate violence may gain vicarious satisfaction from the exposure. While the author feels that the normal adult does not require external protection against violent movies, he does advocate movie censorship of violence for children and adolescents. He believes, however, that televised violence has less impact than violent movies on the child because TV viewing is done in a less restricted situation. The child usually views TV with the light on, is frequently not alone, can come and go far more readily, has more opportunities to eat, and is interrupted more frequently by tension-breaking devices such as commercials. Televised violence is not considered as a cause of juvenile delinquency, but it can offer new techniques to the child who is already delinquent. Violent TV does not make children aggressive, but rather the aggressive child turns to violent TV. The parents ultimately have more control over the child than the TV set, and the author concludes that efforts should be directed toward developing better programs instead of excessive concern about existing violence.

193. Logan, C.S. What our children see. Yearbook of the institute for education by radio, 1950, p. 170-174.

In a survey conducted during the early days of television, more than 300 pediatricians, sociologists, psychologists, and neuropsychiatrists were asked about the effects of television on children. Nine out of 10 expressed the belief that crime programs have some harmful effect on young viewers, and eight out of 10 thought that television crime shows contributed to children's delinquency and antisocial behavior.

194. Maccoby, Eleanor. The effects of television on children. In: Schramm, Wilbur, Ed. The science of human communication. New York: Basic Books, 1963. p. 116-127.

The author reviews some of the methodological approaches and problems in tracing the effects of television, and describes studies relative to possibly detrimental effects of viewing. Television makes little difference in the child's school performance, nor does it interfere with book reading. Positive correlations between aggression and viewing of violent programs may be due to already aggressive children choosing to watch violent fare rather than television making them feel more aggressive. While juvenile delinquents may occasionally imitate crimes seen on TV, poor home training and influential gangs are much more potent influences on behavior. Studies indicate that aggressive programs may serve to arouse hostile impulses, but there is little evidence to show that this will result in direct attacks on other people. The violent or criminal episode that is viewed may be added to the child's repertoire of potential behavior, but the actual performance depends on subsequent opportunity and moral standards that have been taught. Television effects or beliefs and attitudes depend on the amount of previous experience with objects portrayed; where children have already acquired knowledge or values on a subject, there seems to be little impact. The cumulative effects of TV are difficult to assess, but she feels that the greatest impact on attitudes ought to occur when programs present the same theme repeatedly. Continued exposure to violent programming might lead to repression of emotional reactions and lowering of sympathetic feelings. (3 references)

195. Maccoby, Eleanor. Effects of the mass media. In: Hoffman, Martin, and Hoffman, Lois Wladis, Eds. Reviewing of child development research. Vol. 1. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964. p. 323-348.

This reviewer discusses the nature of mass media effects (direct and indirect, immediate and long-range) and outlines the methods of studying these effects (natural experiments, before-after surveys, and laboratory experiments). Indirectly, television may take the child away from other activities. More direct immediate effects include a variety of emotional reactions of the child during exposure, while learning of information and attitudes, and strengthening or weakening of certain personality traits are some of TV's long-range influences. The author summarizes the early laboratory studies dealing with the aggression-arousing effects of watching portrayals of aggressive behavior. She feels that it is a mistake to assume that the impact of the mass media is similar for all children. The child is not passive, but actively selects the materials for exposure, and the content remembered varies accordingly.

196. National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Commission statement on violence in television entertainment programs. Sept. 23, 1969. 11 p.

Because of the prominent place of television in American life, national concern has grown regarding the effects of the violence it portrays, particularly on children. Recent research results have suggested that whether a child learns violent behavior by observing it on television depends upon a number of factors: the degree to which he identifies with TV characters, the potential utility to him of the behaviors portrayed, and the extent to which he believes he can find gratifications through aggressive behavior. Younger children are particularly susceptible to this form of observational learning, since much of the material on TV, being new to them, absorbs their attention; they are also less able to discriminate between reality and fantasy. Even adolescents consciously rely on television models to learn how to behave in real-life situations. A large body of research confirms that children can and do learn aggressive behavior from what they see on TV, and they learn it equally well from real-life, fantasy, or cartoon models. They retain these learned responses for several months, if they are practiced at least once. Their reenactment of this behavior is also determined by the rewards and punishments received by the models they observe. Although some authorities maintain that violence on TV can drain off aggressive tendencies, the majority of experimental studies indicate that observed violence stimulates aggressive behavior. Aggression is most likely to occur when the witnessed aggression is justified and presented in a context similar to the child's own situation. In light of research findings, the Commission suggests that the broadcast industry abandon cartoons containing serious violence and reduce the amount of time devoted to programs with violent episodes. More effective efforts should be made to alter the basic context in which violence is presented in television dramas, and the industry itself should undertake more active and extensive research programs on the effects of televised violence. The Commission recommends that parents supervise their children's viewing more closely and express disapproval of certain programs to networks and local stations. (5 references)

197. Pittman, David. Mass media and juvenile delinquency. In: Roucak, Joseph, Ed. Juvenile delinquency. New York: Philosophical Library, 1958, p. 230-247.

The author focuses on four areas of concern regarding the effect of television on children and adolescents: that programs characterized by excessive violence may disturb young viewers, fail to promote respect for law and order, provide the modus operandi for criminal activity, and directly lead to increases in juvenile crime. He reviews the testimony from authorities on criminal behavior and outlines relevant findings from several early empirical investigations. He suggests that the viewer's social class, emotional condition, and developmental level, as well as viewing situation and program content, must be taken into account in assessing television effects. Pittman feels that the child reacts to TV in terms of his basic personality pattern, which is primarily determined by his interpersonal relationships within the family. He concludes that there is no scientific evidence that television is a major causative factor in juvenile delinquency, or that programs don't promote respect for legal authority. He does find that TV shows provide techniques and rationalizations for crimes of aggression and violence, but notes that other sources of information ranging from encyclopedias to peers are also readily available to the potential lawbreaker.

198. Schlesinger, Arthur. The crisis of confidence: ideas, power and violence in America. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969, p. 25-32.

This writer feels that one reason for the enormous tolerance of violence in contemporary America is the fact that the country has been almost continuously at war for a generation. He suggests that the mass media do not create violence, but they reinforce aggressive and destructive impulses, teaching the morality as well as the methods of violence. Movies and TV have developed a "pornography of violence" far more demoralizing than the pornography of sex. Schlesinger believes that television has the most persuasive influence of the mass media, and suggests that children are hypnotized by the increasing numbers of killings, beatings, gunfights and knifings which are now available in color. He wants authentic artistic merit and purpose to be controlled by the artists and critics, not censors, and emphasizes that a distinction must be drawn between adult and youthful audiences. (1 reference)

199. Siegel, Alberta. The effects of media violence on social learning. In: Baker and Ball, Violence and the media, 1969, p. 261-283.

The author briefly reviews some of the studies of social learning of aggressive behavior, and concludes that viewing of filmed or televised violence raises the probability that the individual will "go forth and do likewise." She points out that there are many complex factors that determine whether viewers of TV violence will actually employ these aggressive behaviors in their everyday interpersonal relations. Siegel feels that viewers add these acts to their repertoire of behaviors, which may be displayed on some occasion that calls for violence. She also suggests that television is such an important source of general information that it may make a greater contribution to the child's social development than the schools. (9 references)

200. Skornia, Harry J. Television and society: an inquest and agenda for improvement. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965. 268 p.

This overview of current problems in the communications industry contains a chapter devoted to the effects of television on both adults and children. The author cites research and opinions of American and foreign authorities, mostly stressing the harmful nature of television viewing. For example, many European groups strongly warn against any television viewing by children under age six. Although broadcasters maintain that the family monitors television use, the role of the family has changed since the advent of TV, and a major family activity consists of sitting together in front of the set for indiscriminate viewing. TV is faulted for advocating mediocre and materialistic values, along with promoting violence. Certain programs may cause some children to want to commit violent acts. If they cannot, these children may experience a conflict later on, manifested as mental illness, delinquency, or other antisocial behavior or attitudes. Although some psychiatrists feel that televised violence may drain children of their aggressive energy, others insist that rather than producing a release of emotions, the constant dosage of violence results in an increase of tension, anxiety, and the seeking of outlets for violence. The demands made on children to reconcile the values taught by television fantasy with real-life situations may also constitute a strain not all are capable of meeting. In addition to active encouragement of violence, another disturbing effect appears to be the creation of passivity in viewers. Many researchers have noted how TV leads children into a withdrawal and private communion with the picture tube. The author concludes that these problems need urgent attention.

201. Smythe, Dallas. Dimensions of violence. Audio-Visual Communications Review, 3:58-63, 1955.

This author suggests that TV crime programs are being made a scapegoat for current social ills, because of the unspoken concern that the integrity of the individual human being is threatened by a technologically oriented social structure. He describes a content analysis that showed heavy dosages of crime and violence during children's TV hours and frequent cases of stereotyping of occupations in drama shows. He concludes that censorship is a solution that amounts to throwing the baby out with the bath water, and argues for more rational communication between all parties concerned with this problem and the gathering of more information on which to base policy.

202. Tannenbaum, Percy H., and Greenberg, Bradley S. Mass communications. Annual Review of Psychology, 19:351-386, 1968.

One section of this review of recent research in mass communications deals with the effect of violence portrayals. The authors presented a brief overview of findings from laboratory experiments, strongly suggesting that observed violence predisposes individuals toward more aggressive behavior. They emphasize the importance of positing an angering agent as a convenient target for induced aggressiveness, and the relevance of whether depicted aggression appears to be justified. They also note the limits to generalization from the laboratory to real-life situations, but argue that these experimental data are more impressive than anecdote and speculation. The reviewers feel that the

survey literature left many questions unanswered, although the general tenor of the results indicated that there were neither harmful nor beneficial effects of televised violence, except possibly on emotionally disturbed or otherwise susceptible children. They also cited one unpublished study by Tannenbaum and Goranson that indicated that dramatic portrayal of the bloody or fatal consequences of violent acts serve to reduce viewer tendencies to engage in aggression. (271 references)

203. Television Research Committee. Second progress report and recommendations. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969. 106 p.

There is a well-established pattern of blaming the mass media for the perceived ills of society. To assess more precisely the role of the media in the development of antisocial behavior, a study was undertaken to determine if there is a relationship between the uses of the media by both delinquents and nondelinquents and the factors associated with delinquency. The results indicate that although delinquents and nondelinquents tend to view the same amount of TV, they do differ in their preferences for programs and media personalities. Delinquents like exciting and aggressive programs more and educational and informative programs less than their nondelinquent peers. Delinquent boys seem particularly attracted to hero figures, while delinquent girls prefer prominent figures from the world of pop music. No differences in the actual viewing situation were found between the two groups, but the delinquents talk less about media material with their families and friends. This indicates that delinquents may think about and use TV in a manner different from nondelinquents. For example, delinquents appear to use TV more often for excitement and less for relaxation. Another study measured 12-year-olds' perception of aggression in TV programs. The investigators found that delinquent and less intelligent boys perceived more aggression in some selected programs, and the delinquents remembered more of the aggressive content. For both types of children, there seems to be a blurring between perceived aggression and perceived reality - what is aggressive is seen to be real. Other studies have found that children who are highly exposed to media crime and violence tend to believe in the use of force in one's self-interest.

204. United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The influence of the cinema on children and adolescents: an annotated international bibliography. Paris, 1961. 106 p.

This annotated bibliography covers works from many countries dealing with the attitudes of youth toward the cinema, analysis of film content, the process of seeing a film, influences and aftereffects of seeing a film, and educational aspects and practical measures. The introductory survey of trends mentions that while there is widespread agreement that something should be done about bad films, very little is actually known about their effects. Any influence from the films is most likely the result of exposure to a succession of films with similar themes. In general, films may have a provocative effect on delinquent behavior, but are rarely causal. (491 references)

205. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The effects of television on children and adolescents. An annotated bibliography with an introductory overview of research results. Wilbur Schramm, Ed. Paris, 1964, 54 p.

This publication summarizes the significant behavioral research studies dealing with the effects of television on children. The annotations are divided into the following categories: bibliographies and summaries, general studies of children and television, patterns of children's use of the media and effects on their leisure time, learning from television and films, psychological effects in general, effects of violence and aggression, effects on maladjusted and disturbed children, and physical effects. In the introductory overview, the editor discusses the present state of research, including descriptions of viewing behavior, effects on leisure time, and reactions to TV. Research to date has yielded no reason to believe that TV has undesirable effects on health, or that it is a sole and sufficient cause of asocial behavior like delinquency or crime. However, there is little doubt that televised violence does not reduce aggression vicariously; if anything, it increases aggression and encourages its later expression. Although TV heightens the probability that someone in the audience will behave aggressively in the future, television's relationship to asocial behavior and its interaction with maladjustment are not completely understood. At most, it can be a contributory cause of delinquency and is likely to affect only the child who is already maladjusted and delinqency-prone. Researchers almost unanimously conclude that television cannot make a normal, well-adjusted child into a delinquent. (165 references)

206. U.S. Government, Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. New York: Bantam, 1968, 609 p.

The Commission has issued a report concerning the civil disturbances of 1967 explaining what happened, why, and what can be done to prevent future outbreaks. In analyzing the effect of the mass media on riots, the Commission found that despite incidents of sensationalism, inaccuracies, and distortion, the news media made a real effort to give a balanced, factual account. However, despite this effort, the portrayal of violence failed to reflect accurately its scale and character; the overall effect was an exaggeration of mood and events. The media have thus far failed to report adequately on the causes and consquences of civil disorders and the underlying problem of race relations. Although fear and apprehension of racial unrest and violence are deeply rooted in American society, it would be imprudent and dangerous to diminish coverage in the hope that censored reporting of inflammatory incidents will somehow diminish violence. The commission urged that coverage by the media be representative, since they are important influences in shaping attitudes toward the causes of riots. The commission concludes that social conditions have created a climate in which violence is an approved and encouraged form of protest. They suggest recommendations to communities, local governments, and police forces for the control of disorders, and recommendations for national action in destroying the root causes of violence.

207. Walters, Richard H. Implications of laboratory studies of aggression for the control and regulation of violence. In: Wolfgang, Marvin E., Ed. Patterns of violence. Annuals of the American Academy of Science, Vol. 364, 1966. p. 60-72.

Laboratory studies indicate that observing aggressive social models, either in real life or on film, increases the probability that the observer will behave in an aggressive manner, especially if the model is rewarded or does not get punished. On the other hand, seeing the model punished apparently decreases the probability of imitation. However, the permanence of the effects of exposure to aggressive models has not yet been determined. Studies of the effects of rewarding aggression indicate that aggressive habits may be developed and maintained through intermittent rewards, and may also carry over to situations other than that in which they were originally learned. The effects of punishing aggression are complex - while punishment may suppress an aggressive response, the punitive agent can also function as an aggressive model whose behavior may be imitated. Nevertheless, there is good evidence that anticipation of punishment is an important factor in deterring aggressive behavior. Other hypotheses about displacement of aggression, the cathartic effects of vicarious or direct participation in aggressive activity, and the association between frustration and aggression have been brought into question by research findings in recent years. (39 references)

208. Weiss, Walter. Mass communications. Annual Review of Psychology, Vol. 22, 1971.

The author reviews the most recent evidence from experimental investigations relating to media portrayals of violence. Several studies have produced conflicting evidence on the question of a cathartic effect. He suggests research on the impact of hostile humor may be relevant to displacement of anger as the dominant energetic force in a given situation. The latest set of modeling experiments indicate the dispositional variables do not function as expected, and imitation is more likely due to a lowering of play inhibitions or a learning of novel ways of handling toys rather than an increase in aggressive tendencies. Weiss concludes that extrapolations to the effect of televised violence in entertainment programs are still based on adduced evidence whose conclusiveness and intimate relevance are open to reasonable question. (282 references)

209. Wertham, Fredric. Seduction of the innocent. New York: Rinehart, 1954. 397 p.

In his discussion of the effects of crime comic books, the author states that the crime comics have bad effects on other media, especially TV, because television has mimicked negative themes characteristic of crime comics. Brutality is a keynote of both crime comics and TV. TV particularly extols the villain; even if he loses, it is due to a failure of shrewdness, rather than his immoral character. Although some individuals maintain that violence and sadism adjust children to the world, the cult of violence originates in social life, and there is a reciprocal relationship between the audience and the creators of mass entertainment. From seeing the excessive sadism portrayed in the media, children may come to believe that violence is natural, particularly

since they do not easily distinguish between fact and fiction. About one-third of children's TV programs concern crime or violence, which may be obscured because of the program context. From these portrayals, children do not learn about motivations for aggression; instead, the violence itself makes an impression. The author believes that research studies on the effects of TV have considered children only abstractly and have not paid enough attention to effects on the individual child. Parents often may not recognize the harm done by crime shows. Ill effects include callousness and indifference to human suffering, confusion of values, and reduction of play activity. The author believes that TV is one more agency which bombards children with negative incentives. TV's having taken the worst from comic books remains the greatest obstacle to the future of good TV for children.

210. Wertham, Fredric. A sign for Cain: an exploration of human violence. New York: Macmillan, 1966. 391 p.

This analysis of the climate of violence is based on materials from sociology, criminology, history, art and literature, current events, the mass media, and the author's own psychiatric case files. He maintains that violence is becoming much more entrenched in modern life than people are willing to believe. He feels that the mass media in particular serve as schools for violence, teaching this form of behavior to young people to an extent never known before. Violence on the TV screen is depicted as a way of life, and even children appear on the screen as its instigators as well as its victims. He states that the methods used to study mass media effects, such as questionnaires and laboratory studies, provide misleading results. The questionnaire method does not consider the whole child, and laboratory studies can determine only short-range effects. Only the clinical examination permits study of the whole child and his interactions with his environment over a period of time. From his clinical studies, the author concludes that even well-adjusted children are not immune to the effects of violence in the media. Although the influence of media violence varies with different age groups, personality types, and social circumstances, the most important effect he has found is the blunting of sensitivity. This blunting can lead to apathy and a false image of human relationships, and may drive children to violent acts. Although other factors may be operating to encourage this behavior in the child, the causal effects of the media cannot be denied, he asserts. Portrayals of crime and violence arouse an appetite for violence, reinforce it when it is present, show how it is carried out, and blur the child's awareness of its wrongness.

211. Wertham, Fredric. Is TV hardening us to the war in Vietnam? In: Larsen, Otto, Ed. Violence and the mass media. New York: Harper and Row, 1968. p. 50-54.

This critic suggests that the frequent coverage of violent action in the Vietnam War during television newscasts has the effect of conditioning viewers to accept war and violence. The news films are really war commercials, in effect. He claims that the best way to get people used to the bombing of the countryside is to show it to them repeatedly. Wertham feels that the endless repetition of fragmented and fragmentary battle scenes without any indication of an overall design gives them a cliche-like character. The cumulative impact adds up to a total belief in the morality of force, not a yearning for

peace, he asserts. His observations are based on reactions of teen-agers in individual and group discussions of the war and its representativeness on the television screen.

212. Wertham, Fredric. School for violence. In: Larsen, Otto, Ed. Violence and the mass media. New York: Harper and Row, 1968. p. 36-39.

Based on extensive case study experience, this clinical psychologist concludes that the continuous exposure of children to mass media portrayals of crime and brutality has had a deeper effect than is generally realized. For most children, television has become a second reality. He claims that TV is a school for violence, teaching young people not that violence is reprehensible, but that it is the great adventure and the sure solution where the most violent person achieves his goals. He notes that certain types of violence have increased and attitudes about violence have become more lenient at the same time that the amount of violence presented on television has also increased. He has observed that the overall effect of the mass media portrayals on children involve a blunting of sensibility, a devaluation of human life, and a lack of sympathy for the suffering of others. Wertham is critical of nonpsychiatric methods for assessing the effects of mass media violence, arguing that children can't adequately describe how they are influenced on questionnaires, and that experiments are artificial and limited to short-range effects. While conceding that TV never works alone as a determinant of children's behavior, he claims that there are many other influences working in the same direction, thus making TV more potent. He does not want to entirely eliminate violence from television, but thinks that it should be presented as a fact of life, not life itself.

213. Wilson, Bryan. Mass media and the public attitude to crime. Criminal Law Review, June, 1961, p. 376-384.

The author suggests that the mass media have played an important role in altering attitudes to crime and providing society with new values, although he notes the difficulty in conclusively assessing the subtle and gradual effects over time. He feels that the media exaggerate the extent and frequency of crime, overdramatize violence, and provide antisocially disposed individuals with vivid fantasies, ideas, and technical knowledge for criminal activity. He proposes that mass media may serve as agencies for a cross-national diffusion of criminal ideas. They also create a greater tolerance both for deviant behavior and for the media's own presentation of violence. The mass media glamorize criminals, create delinquent hero types, and represent deviant behavior as part of a progressive youth culture. Wilson also objects to fictional depictions of criminal activity that emphasize the cleverness, skill and imagination of the lawbreaker and portray the adventurous nature of his crime.

214. Wolfgang, Marvin E., Ed. Patterns of violence. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 364. Philadelphia, 1966. 248 p.

This series of articles examines violence in the general population, criminal violence, and violence as an instrument of social policy. The essays suggest that the public fear of violence may be greater than the actual amount of

violent behavior. Information on assaultive crimes and other forms of violence is summarized, and the thesis of a subculture of violence is briefly outlined. This concept refers to a system of norms and values set apart from the dominant nonviolent culture. These standards expect or require the use of violence in many kinds of social relationships. Violence may serve three social functions: a form of achievement, a danger signal, or a catalyst. Violence is frequently associated with the masculine ideal, especially among those segments of the population unable to wield symbolic (social or political) power. However, violence in the mass media has not been shown to be correlated with changes in the prevalence of real violence. Laboratory studies indicate that when aggression is rewarded rather than punished, it is more readily imitated. While there is good evidence that anticipation of punishment acts to deter aggression, a punishing agent can act as an aggressive model whose behavior may be imitated by the person punished. There appear to be no personality factors sufficiently related to aggressive behavior to make valid predictions about which individuals are most likely to engage in violence. Indeed, some observers feel that violence and aggression are a normal part of human nature, although the educational system proceeds as if these tendencies do not exist. Examples are presented concerning how education could be carried out more successfully if teachers would recognize children's fascination with violence and aggression and teach them to deal with it in a socially acceptable manner.

215. Wright, Charles R. Mass communication: a sociological perspective. New York: Random House, 1959. 124 p.

This author explores the characteristics that distinguish mass communications from other forms, then he illustrates how one sociological orientation - functional analysis - is used in determining the social effects of the mass media. He presents an overview of several foreign communication systems to which the American systems can be compared, as well as an analysis of the qualitative and quantitative aspects of mass media content. Included are the kinds of characters presented as heroes and villains and the content of an average week of television broadcasting. He also discusses the sociology of the audience and major research findings on the link between mass media and face-to-face communication in the society. The nature of the audience, the communication experience, and the communicator are examined from a sociological perspective. Studies of television violence have shown that about one-fifth of it is produced in a tense or thrilling context, presumably because this procedure captures the viewer's attention. About half occurs in a neutral setting, and the remainder in a humorous context. A great deal of violence in children's programs also occurs in a humorous situation. Polls show that seven out of 10 Americans feel that juvenile delinquency can be blamed at least partially on violence in the mass media. However, there is much professional disagreement about the validity of this connection. Most experts agree that the personality of the child may explain some media effects. Their impact must be evaluated within the total complex of social relationships in which the audience member functions before, during, and after media exposure.

Survey research

216. **Bailyn, Lotte. Mass media and children: a study of exposure habits and cognitive effects.** Psychological Monographs, 73(1):1-48, 1959.

As part of a larger study concerning the effects of mass media on children, this researcher studied the TV viewing habits of fifth- and sixth-graders, and compared differences in these habits with the children's psychological characteristics. She found that children with emotional problems who also show a certain amount of rebellious independence tend to watch TV more than others. Boys in general appear to prefer programs with aggressive heroes, and this preference is not connected with the child's social background. Rather, a combination of certain psychological characteristics plus the amount of TV watching are related to boys' preferences for aggressive hero material. Those boys whose viewing time is not restricted, who are often spanked, who are overachievers (their grades exceed their IQs), or who have low IQs show a greater preference for this type of material than other children. A large amount of TV exposure among girls is also correlated with preferences for aggressive material. However, the content preferences of boys are somewhat more related to their psychological characteristics than the amount of time they watch TV. Boys who already have personal problems show greater tendencies toward stereotyped thinking and placing blame on others in conjunction with high exposure to television. The researcher concludes that the function of the mass media in the life of the child reflects his psychological predisposition, and it also influences his modes of perception. The amount that a child is exposed to television is determined by his social environment as well as his intelligence. However, when a child does watch a lot of television, his psychological characteristics become very important in that they determine the function of television programs for him, differentiate the type of content he prefers and how he perceives it, and determine the influence this content has on him. (25 references)

217. Bassett, H. Thomas, Cowden, James E., and Cohen, Michael F. The audiovisual viewing habits of selected subgroups of delinquents. Journal of Genetic Psychology, 112:37-41, 1968.

The viewing habits of a selected sample of juvenile offenders were studied in relation to racial background, age when first institutionalized, intelligence, personality factors, and kinds of discipline they had experienced. The investigators found that boys who reported that they were usually punished by being beaten showed higher scores on fantasy aggression, while those typically punished by someone outside the home showed high scores on overt aggression. Abusive discipline was correlated more with subsequent fantasy aggressive behavior than was the withholding of privileges. Discipline from an outsider seems to be a less acceptable, more frustrating, and a more hostility-inducing

experience. Boys who were rated by clinicians as more susceptible to influence by the mass media showed significantly more fantasy aggression, although they did not report greater than average overt aggression. Results therefore do not support the assumption that greater involvement in fantasy aggression (such as through watching TV) will generally lead to increased aggression. The investigators conclude that certain types of boys seem to gravitate more directly to aggressive behavior, while others, such as those of lower intelligence, show a tendency toward fantasy aggression. (5 references)

218. Blumer, Herbert, and Hauser, Philip M. Movies, delinquency, and crime. New York: Macmillan, 1933. 233 p.

In interviews with delinquents and ex-convicts, the investigators conclude it is probable that films influenced about 10 percent of delinquent boys and 25 percent of delinquent girls. They caution, however, that these data should not be considered as definitely proved measurements, but only rough approximations of the extent of film effects. The influence of films may be unconscious, since many more of these young people said they were influenced by films than could say exactly how this happened. The types of films which are most often believed to elicit delinquent behavior in boys are those which portray criminals, arouse desires for wealth and power and show socially unacceptable ways of attaining these goals, glorify toughness, arouse sexual desires, and glamorize gangsters' careers. In the case of girls, the movies most likely to contribute to delinquency are those which arouse sexual passions, stimulate desires for luxury, and encourage sexual experimentation. On the other hand, the researchers point out that films may have a favorable influence, depending on the film and the child. Films may provide examples of socially acceptable conduct or frighten the viewer by revealing the unpleasant and dangerous aspects of crime and portraying punishment in a concrete form to indicate that crime does not pay. The positive elements may be overshadowed by scenes which depict in an attractive fashion a life of luxury and gaiety, of adventure and easy gain; in addition, these movies might arouse sympathy for the criminal and provide lessons on how to avoid getting caught as the criminal did.

219. Cowden, James E., Bassett, H. Thomas, and Cohen, Michael F. An analysis of some relationships between fantasy-aggressive and aggressive behavior among institutionalized delinquents. Journal of Genetic Psychology, 114:179-183, 1969.

These investigators sought to determine if the extent of delinquent boys' fantasy aggression, through exposure to aggressive TV shows or motion pictures, was followed by aggressive or assaultive behavior. They predicted that boys reporting high degrees of indulgence in fantasy aggression would report a history of more aggressive behavior toward others and a higher incidence of assaultive offenses. Through analyzing the reports of institutionalized delinquents aged 13 to 19, they found that boys with a greater than average involvement in fantasy aggression were more disturbed than others, had poor interpersonal relationships, and showed a greater susceptibility to influence. They were also relatively active, socially assertive, outgoing, and aggressive as a group. Those with histories of assaultive offenses were more hostile but did not differ significantly from nonassaultive boys in degree of fantasy aggression. They were, however, more rebellious and less given to solitary fantasy than their nonassaultive counterparts. The investigators' prediction was only partially

supported, since results do not indicate that fantasy-aggressive behavior is an antecedent of aggression, but suggest that the two appear to be related. They conclude that fantasy behavior, either aggressive or nonaggressive, appears to be an important factor differentiating those delinquents who are simply more aggressive than average from those who display more serious assaultive behavior. (5 references)

220. Cressey, Paul G., and Thrasher, Frederick M. Boys, movies, and city streets. New York: Macmillan, 1933.

In a study of more than 900 boys in New York City, these investigators found a correlation between frequent movie attendance and juvenile delinquency. However, they point out that their data do not enable them to say whether frequent movie-going leads to undesirable behavior, or whether delinquent tendencies lead to increased film attendance. Although it may be concluded that movies are not solely responsible for antisocial behavior, it is unlikely that delinquents can attend movies often without being influenced by what they see on the screen.

221. Eron, Leonard. Relationship of TV viewing habits and aggressive behavior in children. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 67(2):193-196, 1963.

This researcher examined the relationship between TV viewing and aggression for more than 1,200 third-grade students in a semirural county of upstate New York. He measured aggressive behavior by asking each student to rate every other child in his classroom on 10 items specifically describing aggressive acts. Television viewing time and the child's three favorite programs were gauged by parental report. Two judges categorized each favorite program according to whether it emphasized antisocial aggression, and students were assigned a score indicating the extent of violence observed on television by summing the number of aggressive favorite programs. There was a strong positive relationship between aggression and the violence rating of favorite programs for boys, and a negative association between amount of time spent viewing TV and the aggression of boys. There were no significant relationships for girls in the sample. Eron concludes that the quality of programming and the amount of time spent watching TV may have quite different effects on children's behavior. He notes that the correlational data can not provide an answer to the question of whether boys who watch violent programming become aggressive as a result of viewing, or whether aggressive boys prefer violent programs. (12 references)

222. Gray, Barbara. The social effects of the film. Sociological Review, 42:12, 1950.

Based on a survey of 300 children in West Bromwich, the author concludes that there is no evident relation between juvenile delinquency and film attendance. She states that the representation of love chiefly as physical attraction and the idealized portrayal of luxury may endanger the sense of values of young and immature movie-viewers.

223. **Gratiot-Alphandery, Helene. L'enfant et la television. [The child and television.] L'ecole des Parents, 4:14-21, 1962.**

The effect of television on the child's life, according to this author, is to decrease sleeping time, increase the amount of time spent at home, and to turn the child's attention from reading toward TV programs. However, when a TV program concerns a book, the book gains popularity among youngsters. In general, children typically prefer spectacles and variety shows, and express a marked interest in TV stars.

224. Haines, William H. Juvenile delinquency and television. Journal of Social Therapy, 1:192-198, 1955.

This investigator believes that television will influence certain susceptible young people to commit crimes of violence, although it is difficult to state the actual percentage who are so influenced. In his study, teen-age prisoners were interviewed concerning their histories and their opinions on whether television, movies, radio, and pornographic literature had influenced their criminal careers. He found that most watched television sports programs to improve their athletic techniques, and deduced that the young prisoners would also use TV crime programs to improve their criminal techniques. He concluded that TV, pornography, and movies play a distinct role in the creation of antisocial behavior in susceptible teen-agers.

225. Himmelweit, Hilde, Oppenheim, A. N., and Vince, Pamela. Television and the child: an empirical study of the effect of television on the young. London: Oxford University Press, 1958. 552 p.

In their study of more than 2,000 British students between the ages of 10 and 14, the investigators tried to ascertain the antisocial effects of violent programs on television viewers. They asked teachers to rate each child according to whether he was aggressive or submissive, and had the children complete personality inventories not directly measuring aggression. They found that there was no more aggressive, maladjusted or delinquent behavior among children who viewed television than those who had no television available, although tension and anxiety were often produced. They conclude that seeing violence on TV is not likely to turn well-adjusted children into aggressive delinquents, although TV can precipitate it in those who are emotionally disturbed and predisposed to act aggressively. As to whether the child gets a discharge of aggressive feelings by viewing aggressive activity on TV, the investigators suggest that aggressive feelings are just as likely to be aroused as lessened. Mothers' diaries indicated that small children often evidence aggressive play after watching Westerns. Finally, they suggest that the continued viewing of violence may retard children's awareness of the consequences of violence in real life, and teach a greater acceptance of aggression as a proper solution to conflict. Other aspects of this survey are described in the programming and general effects sections of this bibliography. (106 references)

226. Home Office, Great Britain. Report of the departmental committee on children and the cinema. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1950.

In a 1947 study of the relationship between cinema attendance and criminal behavior, researchers found that of 38,000 children under 16 who appeared before a juvenile court during a period of six months, 141 cases of criminal behavior and 112 cases of moral misbehavior were found in which there was a direct relationship with film attendance. The committee concluded that criminal and amoral behavior are the results of more subtle and complex factors than frequent movie attendance alone.

227. Japan League of Non-Governmental Broadcasters. Effects of television on juveniles. Shimbun Kenkyu, 116:17-24, 1961.

A questionnaire survey of more than 400 Japanese delinquents between the ages of 14 and 26 showed that fewer youths blamed television for their delinquency than blamed movies or magazines. A second survey comparing more than a thousand junior high school students and potential delinquents from a special school indicated that the latter group had no stronger preferences than other children for television programs portraying crime and violence.

228. Maletzke, Gerhard. Fernsehen im Leben der Jugend. (Television in the life of youth). Hamburg: Hans Bredow Institute, 1959. 208 p.

The author reviews previous studies of delinquency and television, and reports a study made from tape recordings of interviews and group discussions with teen-agers who were either TV viewers or nonviewers. The German youth viewed TV about seven to eight hours a week, although there was only one channel available. Most of them did not take TV very seriously and were relatively uncritical about the sources and quality of programs. Based on his findings, Maletzke concludes that there is no evidence that TV causes juvenile delinquency or has any clearcut effect on teen-agers' social behavior.

229. Pfuhl, Erdwin Henry. The relationship of mass media to reported delinquent behavior. Washington State University, 1960. Dissertation Abstracts, 21:3550-3551, 1961.

This investigator explored the relationship between the interest in and exposure to crime and violence portrayed in the mass media and self-reported delinquent behavior. Data were gathered in questionnaires administered to 800 male and female high school students. No significant relationship was found between exposure to mass media and juvenile delinquency, even when rejection of parents and frequency of psychosomatic complaints were controlled. The data suggest the need for clarification or revision of the position that a portrayal of crime and violence in the mass media contributes to juvenile delinquency. Indirectly, these data provide support for the assumption that the media play a secondary role in the transmission of ideas, techniques, and rationalizations for delinquent and criminal behavior.

230. Schramm, Wilbur, Lyle, Jack, and Parker, Edwin. Television in the lives of our children. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961. 324 p.

In a questionnaire administered to more than 1,200 sixth- and tenth-grade students in five Rocky Mountain towns, these investigators obtained ratings along a series of abbreviated scales to measure six kinds of aggression. On the key antisocial aggression scale, tenth-graders who were frequent television users and low print media users were significantly higher than other students. The investigators interpret this relation as due to frustrated children trying to work out some of their aggression vicariously through television fantasy. In a Canadian community with television, sixth-graders were significantly lower in antisocial aggression than the sixth-grade students in a comparison town without television. There were no differences between the tenth-grade boys and girls in these two towns. The researchers conclude that the failure to find any significant difference on aggression scores in the tenth grade rules out the possible alternative explanation that aggression scores might be an effect of television viewing. Discussing the question of TV and aggression, they state that TV is not likely to reduce a physiological drive. It is unlikely that TV will either reduce or increase tension unless it provides something with which the child can identify; if a child identifies strongly with an aggressive character, he is more likely to remember his aggressive acts. A child with psychopathic tendencies is likely to pick up from television a suggestion for violence. A frustrated, aggressive child is at least as likely to have his aggression increased as to have it released by television, and at a later time when violence is called for he may remember some of the techniques he learned from television. For most normal children, there is no evidence that television elicits violent behavior, they conclude. Children with satisfactory interpersonal relationships and a warm, secure home are least likely to be harmed by any experience with television. Very little delinquency can be traced to television; at most, TV can be a contributory factor, but not a basic cause. The other uses and effects of television on children examined in this investigation are described in another section of this bibliography. (91 references)

Experimental studies

231. Albert, Robert S. The role of the mass media and the effect of aggressive film content upon children's aggressive responses and identification choices. Genetic Psychology Monographs, 55:221-285, 1957.

Two important factors in children's socialization are the manner in which their aggressive acts are treated by adults, and the psychological process by which children identify with various figures. Social learning may also occur in film viewing situations although the learning is tempered by the age and personality of the child. In this experiment, the investigator showed three versions of a Western film to 220 children, aged eight to 10, who could be characterized as either high- or low-aggression children. The films differed in terms of the social sanctions for aggressive behavior. In one version, the hero won a conventional victory over the villain; in another, the villain won and was not punished; and in the third, the film ended before either had won. Aggression levels of the children were measured before and after the film showings. Results indicated that neither the conventional film nor the one in which the villain won (an "unconventional" cowboy film) led to a uniform increase in aggressive behavior but rather produced a decrease in post-viewing aggression. However, these results were explained by the fact that high-aggression children decreased their aggressiveness while low-aggression children increased their aggressiveness. Those children who viewed a film without an ending showed a significant decrease in subsequent aggression while the ending per se, led to increased aggressive behavior. All films produced greater effects on younger children and those with lower I.Q.'s. (66 references)

232. Baker, John William. The effects of four types of vicarious aggression on physiological and psychological arousal. West Virginia University, 1967. Dissertation Abstracts, 28(5-B):2132-2133, 1967.

Vicarious aggression is said to reduce frustration by permitting the frustrated subject to identify with the aggressor. In an experiment with undergraduate students, differences in subjects' physiological and psychological arousal during aggression were studied. The investigator found that systolic blood pressure was the most reliable indicator of changes in aggression level. No objective evidence of psychological arousal was obtained. The effects of direct and vicarious means of aggression could not be differentiated in this study. However, subjects were allowed only verbal vicarious expression in the experiment, not physical attack. Overt or direct communication of counter-aggression to the instigator was the most effective way of reducing physiological measures of arousal. Subjects also appeared to gain some satisfaction from seeing the instigator being injured.

233. Bandura, Albert. Influence of models; reinforcement contingencies on the acquisition of imitative resposes. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1(6):589-595, 1965.

This study focused on the extent to which young children will imitate an aggressive model who is either rewarded or punished for his aggression. Three groups of nursery school children saw films of aggression in which the model was either punished or rewarded or ignored. Subsequent tests of the children's aggression showed the treatment accorded the model did indeed affect children's imitative aggression. Those who saw the model rewarded were more aggressive than the other two groups, and boys performed more imitative responses than girls. However, when the children were later offered rewards for imitating the model's behavior, there were no differences in performance among the three groups, indicating that an equivalent amount of learning had taken place, no matter what had happened to the model. This treatment also reduced the initially large sex differences in amount of imitative aggression. After the offer of a reward, boys in the "model-punished" and "no consequences" groups did not become more aggressive than previously, but boys in the "model-rewarded" group and all the girls showed significant increases in imitative aggression. Apparently the reinforcements administered to the model influenced the children's performance but not their acquisition of matching responses. The investigator concludes that the rate of acquisition of matching responses through observation will be determined to some degree by the extent to which the components of the response are already contained in the child's behavior patterns, and this may account for the sex differences in imitative aggression between boys and girls. He also theorizes that observing a model performing aggression without receiving any consequences may release aggression - as is the case when the model is rewarded. (18 references)

234. Bandura, Albert. Social-learning theory of identificatory processes. In: Goslin, David A., ed. Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research. Chicago, Rand McNally, 1969. p. 213-262.

Many of the behavior patterns of children are acquired not through direct instruction but through copying the behavior exhibited by social models, such as parents, teachers, peers, and influential television and film characters, according to this researcher. He reviews many experiments concerned with the child's imitation of and identification with others and presents his own theory of the learning mechanisms underlying the modeling process. His experiments on aggression indicate that the success of the model's behavior (whether he is rewarded or punished) is a crucial factor in determining to what degree children imitate his aggressive actions. In general, children who see a model rewarded or receive no consequences for acting aggressively are more inclined to copy his behavior. Boys particularly are more likely to imitate aggression. However, when children are offered incentives for imitating the model, regardless of whether he was rewarded or punished, both boys and girls readily copy his aggression to about the same degree. The investigator therefore theorizes that there are differences between learning to behave aggressively and actually performing aggressive acts, and that the performance of aggression is controlled by factors other than mere observation, such as social sanctions imposed on the

child. However, he cautions that the observation of television characters may play a more important part in shaping behavior than is generally assumed. The norms of conduct exemplified by parents may be directly contradicted by what the child sees on the TV screen, thereby diminishing the socialization influences of the family. He concludes that it is highly probable that social models such as parents and teachers may become less influential with further advances in communication technology and increased use of symbolic models. (142 references)

235. Bandura, Albert, and Huston, Aletha C. Identification as a process of incidental learning. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 63(2):311-318, 1961.

The authors suggest that children frequently learn behavior patterns through observing and imitating important adults. In this way, children learn not only the material which is directly taught, but also acquire other incidental behavior performed by adult models. The present study evaluated the extent to which children could learn both the specific and incidental aspect of an adult model's behavior. Preschoolers, rated on their degree of dependency, first experienced either a friendly or impersonal play relationship with an adult model. They then observed the model open one of two boxes to locate an object after he had aggressively knocked a doll off one of the boxes. When the children were asked to perform the problem-solving task afterward, those who had experienced a warm relationship with the model were more likely to imitate his behavior. Children with a high degree of dependency expressed more partially imitative behavior and exhibited more predecision conflict on the task than those rated low on dependency. Aggression, however, was readily imitated by the youngsters regardless of their relationship with the model - over 90 percent of the children in the study adopted the model's behavior of knocking the doll off the box. Results suggest, therefore, that mere observation of an aggressive model, regardless of the child's relationship to him, is sufficient to produce imitative aggression. (26 references)

236. Bandura, Albert, and Mischel, Walter. Modification of self-imposed delay of reward through exposure to live and symbolic models. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 2(5):698-705, 1965.

These investigators conducted an experiment on factors influencing self-control in children in an effort to determine how much children are influenced by observing or reading about adults. Fourth- and fifth-graders were initially tested to see if they tended to choose small rewards, such as toys or money, that could be obtained immediately, or if they could wait to receive more valuable objects later on. Those who preferred immediate rewards ("low-delay" children) then observed an adult who always elected to wait for delayed reward; children who tended to postpone rewards ("high-delay" children) saw an adult who always chose the immediate reward. A similar procedure was carried out with a written record of his choices. All children were then allowed to select either immediate or delayed rewards, and were retested a month later. The findings indicate that observation of standards set by adults has potent effects on children's self-control, and that an adult's actions are more influential than his words in affecting behavior. Children who initially tended to delay rewards selected more immediate rewards after seeing an adult with this preference, while those who at first chose immediate rewards were increasingly

willing to wait for rewards after watching an adult act in this manner. Although seeing the adult produced a greater change in behavior than reading a record of his actions, both procedures were effective in modifying behavior in the immediate situation. With initially high-delay children, however, the live adult was more effective than the written account in maintaining the modified behavior over a period of time, but no differences were found in the effects of the two procedures on the later performance of low-delay children. The investigators suggest that the live model has greater influence than written accounts on high-delay children because to these children seeing an adult act in a certain manner implies greater approval for that behavior. (27 references)

237. Bandura, Albert, Ross, Dorothea, and Ross, Sheila A. Transmission of aggression through imitation of aggressive models. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 63(3):575-582, 1961.

These investigators performed an experiment to test whether a child's imitation of aggressive and nonaggressive models extends to a situation in which the model is absent. They predicted that observation of subdued, nonaggressive models would inhibit a child's aggression, and that children would more readily imitate a model of their own sex. In the experiment, groups of preschoolers observed same and oposite sex models behaving aggressively or nonaggressively with toys. A control group did not observe any models. Afterward, the children were mildly frustrated and then allowed to play with toys like the model used. During this period, imitative and nonimitative physical and verbal aggression and aggressive gun play were measured. The investigators found that children exposed to the nonaggressive models and the control group exhibited little aggression, and that children who observed the nonaggressive male model showed less aggressive behavior than the controls. Of the children who witnessed the aggressive model, boys reproduced more imitative physical aggression than girls, but the two did not differ in imitation of verbal aggression. In general, all children were inclined to be more aggressive after observing an aggressive male rather than an aggressive female. The results suggest that exposure to nonaggressive models may inhibit aggression, while observing aggressive adults may increase the probability of a child's aggressive reactions to subsequent frustrations. (16 references)

238. Bandura, Albert, Ross, Dorothea, and Ross, Sheila A. Imitation of film-mediated aggressive models. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 66(1): 3-11, 1963.

These investigators designed an experiment to determine to what extent children imitate both real-life and filmed aggression in their play, especially after frustrating experiences. One group of nursery school children observed a male or female adult hitting and kicking an inflated doll, while another saw the same actions portrayed on film. Other children viewed similar aggressive actions performed by a film cartoon character, and the fourth group saw no aggression at all. The children were then allowed to play with attractive toys, were frustrated by removal of the toys, and then led into a room containing toys such as the inflated doll, mallets, and guns. Observations of their subsequent play activities revealed that children who saw the real-life

or the filmed instances of aggression did not differ in total aggressiveness, but did exhibit about twice as much imitative physical and verbal aggression as the children who saw no aggressive acts. Observing aggression also increases the probability that children will respond aggressively to subsequent frustrations. Viewing filmed instances of human aggression appears to be the most influential method of eliciting aggression in youngsters. Children who saw the films, particularly the boys, engaged in more aggressive gun play when the control group, although guns were not used in the films. Analyses also disclosed that aggressive men are more likely to be copied than women. For example children - particularly boys - who observed the male, exhibited more aggressive gun play then those who observed the female model. From their results, the investigators conclude that television may serve as an influential illustrator of social behavior, but caution that one must distinguish between the child's learning, and his translating learning into action. Although the experiment demonstrated that children learn patterns of social behavior from film examples quite easily, informal observation suggests that children will not always act out what they have learned, especially since most parents discourage or disapprove of imitation of undesirable characters. (24 references)

239. Bandura, Albert, Ross, Dorothea, and Ross, Sheila A. Vicarious reinforcement and imitative learning. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 67(6):601-607, 1963.

These investigators assessed the likelihood that young children will copy the behavior of an aggressor who is punished or one who is rewarded for his aggression. Eighty nursery school children were shown one of three types of films. In one, an aggressor was successful in taking a group of highly attractive toys from another individual; in the second, the aggressor was punished while the other character retained his playthings; the third portrayed active but nonaggressive play. Afterward, all children were given an opportunity to play with the toys depicted in the films. The results of the study show that imitation of what was seen is partly dependent on what happens to the aggressor. Children who saw the aggressor rewarded showed a greater degree of preference for him and displayed more aggressiveness, themselves, than those who saw him punished. The children generally neither imitated nor expressed a liking for the punished aggressor. They preferred to emulate the aggressive model more frequently when he obtained the toys through physical force than when he was punished for this or played with the toys in a nonaggressive manner. The investigators were surprised to find that the children who chose to imitate the rewarded aggressor were later highly critical of him and his actions, and also made derogatory remarks about the aggressor's victim. Children who saw the aggressor punished also considered him a "bad boy" but did not express negative feelings toward the victim. The authors suggested that the finding that successful villainy may outweigh children's established ideas of right and wrong has important implications for the impact of television on children's attitudes and social behavior. The investigators state that in many programs, the villain gains control through aggressive maneuvers, since his punishment is delayed until just before the last commercial. Children therefore are given abundant opportunity to see aggression pay off. Since their research demonstrates that children may imitate an aggressor even though they dislike his attributes, the investigators also theorize that fear of parental punishment does not deter children from identifying with and imitating aggressive characters. (28 references)

240. Berkowitz, Leonard. Some aspects of observed aggression. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 2(3):359-369, 1965.

Why does the depiction of aggression often lead to hostility? In a series of experiments attempting to answer this question, male college students were either angered or treated in a neutral fashion by a person labeled as a college boxer or a speech major. The students then saw a film of a vicious prizefight; in some cases they were told that the aggression was justified and at other times that it was less justified. Afterward they had the opportunity to administer electric shocks to the college boxer or speech major. Results showed that when the anger instigator was labeled as a boxer, he evoked more aggression from the subjects after they had seen the film. Even when the subjects were not angry, they still administered more shocks to the boxer than to the speech major. When angry subjects were confronted by the speech major, they reported the entire film experience as being less enjoyable but did not attack the speech major very strongly. The investigator theorizes that the college boxer evoked the strongest hostility from the subjects because they had associated him with the aggressive scene, and the boxer label had presumably heightened his cue value for aggressive responses. Whether the aggression was presented as justified or less justified also affected subjects' responses. In the nonangered groups, justified aggression did not produce reliably stronger attacks than less justified agg. ssion. However, when the subjects were angry and then witnessed justified aggression, they directed more shocks against their tormentor than students shown the less justified aggression. Overall, the findings show that the film context can affect an observer's inhibitions against aggression, and that people encountered soon after viewing vary in the extent to which they can elicit aggressive reactions from the observer. (7 references)

241. Berkowitz, Leonard, Corwin, Ronald, and Heironimus, Mark. Film violence and subsequent aggressive tendencies. Public Opinion Quarterly, 27:217-229, 1963.

These investigators have noted that some studies have shown that filmed violence can instigate aggressive behavior immediately following the viewing of an aggressive scene. However, other research also points to an apparent reduction in the strength of the aggressive drive after the viewing of filmed aggression. One of the conditions affecting the likelihood of film-instigated violence is the emotional state of the audience at the time of viewing. In some experiments in which aggressive films provoked hostility, the subjects were not angry at the time of viewing. When a subject is angry, he may experience a relief of tension after witnessing such a film, only to the extent that he believes his anger-instigator or someone like him has been injured. Other studies show that the viewing of violence when inhibitions against aggression are lowered may increase the likelihood of subsequent aggression. This is particularly true if a subject sees aggression justified - if a criminal is defeated or punished by aggressive means. In other experiments, angered but inhibited individuals tend to displace their hostility toward the experiment rather than to vent it on the experimenter who has angered them. In the present study, 90 male college students were shown either an aggressive or

neutral film. The instructions used to "set the scene" in the aggressive film described the aggression as either justified or unjustified. Furthermore, half of the students were angered just prior to viewing the films while the remainder were treated in a neutral manner. As an additional manipulation, half of the students who viewed the aggressive film were led to believe that the aggression was justified while the others thought it to be unjustified. The results indicated that film violence may increase the probability that someone in the audience will behave aggressively soon afterward. If fantasized aggression appears justified, restraints against hostility in angered individuals may be weakened. Violence presented in such a context may induce the audience to believe that it is more permissible to attack the villains in their own lives, at least immediately following the movie. (14 references)

242. Berkowitz, Leonard, and Geen, Russell G. Film violence and the cue properties of available targets. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3(5):525-530, 1966.

Previous research has indicated that the display of aggression on the TV screen is more likely to increase than reduce the probability of aggressive behavior by members of the audience. However, it was hypothesized in the present study, that a person who sees a brutal fight may not display any detectable aggression immediately afterward unless he encounters a stimulus that is associated with the fight. In this study, college males were either angered or treated in a neutral fashion by the experimenter's accomplice who had been introduced earlier as Kirk or Bob. The subjects then saw a prizefight film in which the principal character was also named Kirk, or a track meet film. Afterward, they administered electric shocks to the accomplice. The greatest number of shocks were given by the angered men who had witnessed the prizefight scene and who believed the accomplice was named Kirk. The association of the accomplice's name with the violent scene heightened his cue value for eliciting aggressive responses, and he therefore evoked the greatest amount of aggression from men who were ready to act aggressively. The investigators also found that strong anger arousal tended to produce relatively persistent hostile tendencies, and the combination of provocation and the aggression-eliciting cue led to longer-lasting and more frequent aggressive responses. It was suggested that observed aggression does not necessarily lead to open aggression against anyone; rather, the target of attack, if he presents the appropriate cue, evokes aggressive responses from those who are primed to act aggressively and whose restraints against aggression are fairly weak. (7 references)

243. Berkowitz, Leonard, and Geen, Russell G. Stimulus qualities of the target of aggression: a further study. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 5(3):364-368, 1967.

These investigators conducted a study on the factors that determine the intensity of the aggression that is directed against a particular target. Male college students were insulted by the experimenter's accomplice. Then they watched a filmed prizefight in which aggression was justified, a fight in which the aggression was less justified, or a film of a track race. After viewing the films, the accomplice was introduced to the subjects as Kirk (also

the name of the victim of the movie fight) or Bob. The students then were given an opportunity to administer electric shocks to the accomplice. Even though the accomplice was introduced after the movie, he was attacked more often by those who had seen the justified film aggression (whose inhibitions against aggression were presumably the weakest) and who connected the name Kirk with the movie character. These students also expressed the strongest disapproval of the accomplice. His "cue value," therefore, determined the magnitude of aggression that was directed against him. The investigators suggest that particular people are attacked not only because they are safe and visible targets, but also because they have characteristics which cause them to elicit aggression from persons who are ready to act aggressively. As the experiment demonstrates, these results are obtained even when the target's connection with the observed victim is established after the aggressive scene is witnessed. (10 references)

244. Berkowitz, Leonard, and Rawlings, Edna. Effects of film violence on inhibitions against subsequent aggression. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 66 (3):405-412, 1963.

The main purpose of this study was an evaluation of a viewer's aggressive behavior subsequent to the observation of filmed aggressive sequences which have been deemed to be either "justified" or "unjustified." One hundred and sixty, male and female college students, one-half of whom had been previously insulted and angered by the experimenter, saw a film of a prizefighter receiving a vicious beating. Some of the students were told that the fighter was a scoundrel who deserved everything he got. In subsequent tests of the subjects' aggression, the investigators found that although the aggression was justified, the angered students were not able to rid themselves vicariously of their hostility toward the experimenter, but on the contrary, increased their anger toward him. These effects were not found with angered subjects who had not been told the victim was a scoundrel. Seeing aggression justified apparently lowers inhibitions in some people. The investigators point out, however, that one cannot say with certainty whether justified fantasy aggression lowers inhibitions against subsequent hostility or whether less justified aggression strengthens such restraints. Aggressive films may weaken aggressive impulses of viewers if they associate the victim of justified aggression with their own tormentors of if they are so absorbed in the film that they fail to remain angry. (12 references)

245. Bokander, Ingvar, and Lindbom, Kerstin. The effects of aggressive films on minors. Nordisk Psykologi, 19(1):1-56, 1967.

These investigators devised an experiment to determine how Swedish adolescents and criminals are affected by viewing a film with aggressive content. Both before and after the film, pictures of the film characters were presented simultaneously, and ratings were made of the character on which the subjects focused. Results indicated that after viewing the film there was a shift of attention in those who were most sensitive to the aggressive film, while those who had stronger initial perceptual defenses showed only a few changes. To the investigators, these results imply that those who are more neurotic are also

more sensitive to films. Overall, the age of the subjects did not affect the results of this experiment. No differences were found between 13- and 18-year-olds, a noteworthy finding since 13-year-olds are not allowed to see aggressive films in Sweden. Both groups, however, gave evidence of stronger perceptual defenses after the film, indicating that it had been anxiety-inducing. Both age groups of adolescents tended to block from consciousness the criminal characters shown in the perceptual test given after the film. The adolescents tended to single out characters who exhibited socially approved behavior in the films, while criminal subjects paid attention to the criminal film characters. The investigators conclude that in considering the possible imitation effects, aggressive films are more socially dangerous for neurotic and criminal subjects and least harmful to those who are stable and socially well adjusted.

246. Emery, F. E. Psychological effects of the western film: a study in television viewing. II. The experimental study. Human Relations, 12:215-232, 1959.

In his psychoanalytical analysis of TV Westerns, the investigator postulated that the psychological significance of these programs resides not in their overt content, but in their "latent" oedipal and good-vs-evil themes. Therefore, he hypothesized that such programs would not arouse aggressive tendencies, but would make youngsters feel threatened by a powerful and hostile environment, and that they would recall the program in stereotyped terms. After showing a standard Western to preadolescent boys, the investigator found that they tended to interpret it in terms of good-vs-evil rather than the oedipal theme, and they also tended to identify with the character who was most like their ideal. In an analysis of the youngsters' story responses to the Thematic Apperception Test, no increase in aggression was found, but there was a greater tendency to place blame on others. Their stories showed that they perceived their environment as more powerful and hostile, but their story heroes were also more active. When asked to summarize the program a month later, the boys described it in stereotyped terms. The investigator concludes that personality factors affect both a boy's choice of heroes and the themes he prefers. In this way, he may protect himself from film content that would otherwise be psychologically disturbing. (27 references)

247. Emery, F. E., and Martin, David. Psychological effects of the "Western" film: a study in television viewing. Melbourne, University of Melbourne Department of Visual Aids. 1957. 47 p.

These investigators showed various Western films to Australian children and made several psychological measures, including a test of frustration, before and after viewing. The results did not confirm the hypothesis that television or film fantasy aggression releases pent-up aggression in viewers and thus lowers their overall level of aggression. The investigators also concluded that children develop a perceptual defense to protect themselves against shock and anxiety resulting from violent films. If they identify with a hero who is successful and seems more dynamic and effective after the action of the film, they seem better able to avoid the stress and anxiety which otherwise may be induced by an aggressive film.

248. Feshbach, Seymour. The drive reducing function of fantasy behavior. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 50(1):3-11, 1955.

Can expressing hostility through fantasy provide a type of symbolic satisfaction that reduces aggression? To test this point, the investigator designed a study in which some of the college students were "insulted." Then half of the insulted group and half of the controls were shown pictures that encouraged them to express their feelings in fantasy. The insulted subjects displayed more hostility in their fantasy than the controls. In subsequent measures of their attitudes, insulted students who had been shown the fantasy pictures exhibited significantly less aggression toward the experimenter than those insulted but not given an opportunity to fantasize. The investigator cautions, however, in applying these results to all cases of viewing aggression. For some viewers, fantasy may increase rather than decrease their aggressive impulses. Some people who normally express their hostility in overt behavior and who have not learned to use fantasy as a means of discharging their aggression would become even more hostile. (14 references)

249. Feshbach, Seymour. The stimulating versus cathartic effects of a vicarious aggressive activity. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 63(2):381-385 1961.

In this study, it was hypothesized that if a subject is not hostile at the time he sees an aggressive act, his subsequent aggression is very likely increased, whereas if his aggressive drive has been aroused before seeing the act, his hostility will be subsequently reduced. One half of a sample of 120 male college students were insulted by the experimenter prior to viewing a film, while the remaining 60 subjects were treated in a neutral manner. Then subjects viewed a neutral film or a film of a prizefight and were asked to judge the personality of the main character in each film, as well as to express their attitudes toward the experimenter and the experiment. Results showed that the effect of witnessing aggression depends on the subject's emotional state at the time. In comparison to seeing the neutral film, viewing the prizefight resulted in decreased aggression only for those subjects who had been previously insulted. The predicted increase in aggression for noninsulted subjects following exposure to the fight film did not occur. The investigator theorizes that arousal of guilt feelings may account for the aggression-reducing effects of fantasy when aggression has recently been stimulated, but observation of violence does not stimulate aggression under relaxed emotional conditions. He therefore concludes that witnessing aggression has a cathartic effect only when the viewer's own aggression has been previously or simultaneously aroused. (9 references)

250. Feshbach, Seymour. The catharsis effect: research and another view. In Baker and Ball, Violence and the Media, p. 461-472.

This is a brief summary of preliminary findings from a controlled study of the effect of viewing aggressive content on television. The investigator exposes several hundred subjects to either a violent or nonviolent diet of

television programming for six weeks in seven residential schools and institutes. On the basis of measures of daily behavior and personality tests and attitude scales, Feshbach concludes that exposure to aggressive content in television seems to reduce or control the expression of aggression, and does not lead to a noticeable increase in aggressive behavior.

251. Geen, Russell G. Effects of frustration, attack, and prior training in aggressiveness upon aggressive behavior. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 9(4):316-321, 1968.

This investigator conducted an experiment to determine how prior reinforcement for aggression and frustration influences subsequent aggressive behavior. Male college students were reinforced for shocking a peer by being told they were doing well, while others were not reinforced. The students were then either subjected to frustration by attempting to complete an insoluble problem, thwarted at completing the task, or insulted by a peer following success at the task. The subjects then saw a violent movie and were given an opportunity to administer electric shocks to the peer. The investigator found that both the frustrated and thwarted subjects administered more intense shocks than a control group, but that the insulted subjects gave the most intense shocks of all. Frustrated and insulted subjects tended to give stronger shocks after reinforcement than after no reinforcement. Subjects in all three conditions gave shocks of increasing magnitude, while controls gave shocks of constant value. The investigator concludes that frustration can instigate aggressive behavior by producing a general level of arousal - even when the frustrated person has not been attacked. Insult, however, produces a higher level of arousal than frustration, and thus the insulted person is more likely to behave aggressively. (14 references)

252. Geen, Russell, G. and Berkowitz, Leonard. Name-mediating aggressive cue properties. Journal of Personality, 34:456-465, 1966.

A growing body of experimental evidence indicates that observation of violence can increase the observer's aggressive inclinations. These investigators attempted to determine whether the aggressive consequences of witnessing violence result solely from the lowering of the observer's inhibitions. They conducted an experiment to establish whether a frustrater whose name was the same as a character in an aggressive scene would provoke more intense attacks upon him than a frustrater who was not connected with the witnessed violence. Male college students were initially angered by an accomplice of the experimenter and then saw a fight film in which they were told that the victim deserved his beating. Some subjects were also told that the accomplice had the same name as the beaten figher. Afterward, the students had the opportunity to administer shocks to the accomplice. The results indicate that observing aggression by itself need not lead to overt aggression. Students who believed the accomplice's name was the same as the fighter administered more shock to him than other subjects did. The investigators theorize that witnessing violence serves mainly to arouse the observer's previously acquired aggressive habits, but to set them in operation in low gear. For aggression to become full-blown, cues must be present in the observed situation that are connected with aggression in the

observer's past or with the aggression he has just seen. Persons who are most likely to be attacked by someone who has recently seen violence are those who have aggression-eliciting cues. These cues also seem to be associated with the victim rather than the administrator of violence. (8 references)

253. Geen, Russell G., and Berkowitz, Leonard. Some conditions facilitating the occurrence of aggression after the observation of violence. Journal of Personality, 35:666-676, 1967.

Previous studies have indicated that a subject will behave aggressively after observing violence only if he has previously been angered by the person he is later permitted to attack. In a search for additional factors that elicit aggression, a confederate of the experimenters either frustrated, insulted, or treated male college students neutrally. The students then saw a prizefight film in which aggression was justified, or a racing film. For some of the subjects, the name of the confederate was the same as the beaten boxer. Afterward, subjects were given the opportunity to administer electric shocks to the confederate. The investigators found that among students who saw the boxing film, insult led to more aggressive behavior than frustration or neutral treatment, regardless of whether the confederate's name was associated with the film. When the confederate's name was the same as that of the boxer, frustrated subjects were more aggressive toward him than were the nonaroused students. However, there were no differences in aggression between the frustrated and nonaroused subjects when the confederate's name was not connected with the film. The investigators theorize that the association of the confederate with the film subject acted as a cue for eliciting aggressive behavior. They conclude that a person will behave more aggressively after witnessing violence when he is frustrated or angry and when some aspect of the situation holds strong aggressive cues for him. (18 references)

254. Goldstein, Naomi Slutzky. The effect of animated cartoons on hostility in children. New York University, 1956. Dissertation Abstracts, 17:1125, 1957.

This study represents one of the first attempts to assess the effect of fantasy films with aggressive content on schoolchildren under experimental conditions. Two groups of 100 children with a mean age of 11 years, were compared on the amount of hostility expressed on two projective tests, the Rosenzweig Picture Frustration Test and the Children's Apperception Test. The experimental group was exposed to animated cartoons for three consecutive hours during each of three days beforehand, while the control subjects saw no cartoons. There were no significant differences found, although the measuring techniques were later discovered to be inappropriate for evaluating the effect of animated cartoons on hostility in children.

255. Hanratty, M. A., Liebert, R. M. Morris, L. W. and Fernandez, L. E. Imitation of film-mediated aggression against live and inanimate victims. Proceedings of the 77th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, 1969, p. 457-458.

These investigators assessed the extent to which children will aggress against either a human or inanimate target subsequent to the observation of a filmed model of aggression. Half of the sample (20 four- and five-year-old boys) viewed a film in which an adult male aggressed against a human dressed in a clown costume. The remaining children did not view a film. After the film-viewing period (or no-film) each child was observed in a playroom containing an assortment of toys and either a plastic clown or a human dressed in a clown costume. The child's aggressive acts were recorded for a 10-minute period. Results indicated that children who observed an aggressive model were more aggressive than their no-film counterparts. Moreover, the inanimate target was the recipient of more abuse than the human victim. However, children who observed an aggressive model did aggress, with gun and mallet, against the human target while the no-film children did not. The authors conclude that viewing an aggressive model produces an aggressive viewer.

256. Hartmann, Donald P. Influence of symbolically modeled instrumental aggression and pain cues on aggressive behavior. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 11(3):280-288, 1969.

The stimulating vs. cathartic effects of viewing violent films were compared. Delinquent adolescent boys were either intentionally angered or treated in a neutral manner and then all were shown either a film of a neutral game, a boy's aggressive behavior, or the pain reactions of a victim of aggression. The subjects then administered what they believed to be electric shocks to an anonymous individual. The results cast doubt on the catharsis theory and, instead, showed that the observation of violence against others increases the viewer's aggressiveness. Whether they were previously angered or not, boys who witnessed the aggression film tended to administer more shock than those who saw the neutral one; this effect was even more pronounced in angry individuals. The angry subjects who saw the film on pain reactions inflicted more shock than angry subjects who saw the film highlighting the aggressor's actions; unangered individuals administered more shock after seeing the aggressor's actions after viewing pain reactions. Delinquents with a history of aggressive behavior tended to inflict longer, more intense shocks than other boys, particularly when they were angered and then viewed displays of pain. The investigator explains that viewing the pain of others serves as a form of reward for these boys, and reinforces their aggressive behavior. Since angered subjects did not show greater aggression after viewing a neutral film, the investigator suggests that anger may stimulate aggressive tendencies only when accompanied by other stimuli that elicit aggression. He has also concluded that when the observer is not angry, the viewing of intense pain may produce sympathy for the victim and thus inhibit the viewer's aggressiveness. (33 references)

257. Heinrich Karl. Filmerleben, Filmwirkung, Filmerziehung: Der Einfluss des Films auf die Aggressivitaet bei Jugendlichen; Experimentelle Untersuchungen und ihre

lernpsychologischen Konsequenzen. [Film experience, film effects, film education: the influence of films on aggressiveness of youth; experiments and consequences for the psychology of learning.] Berlin, H. Schroedel, 1961. 372 p.

The investigator studies the direction and amount of change in aggressiveness students displayed after viewing various types of films. More than 2,000 German pupils aged 12 to 16 saw three types of films - aggression-arousing, appeasing, and ambivalent - after which their aggressive attitudes were assessed on Thurstone scales. Results indicated that films with predominantly aggressive themes stimulated aggressiveness in the youngsters if the films were realistic and dynamic and if the viewers could easily identify with the characters. Only one film, characterized by easy character identification and pleasant action, had an appeasing effect. Ambivalent films, lacking either in identification qualities or dominant aggression themes, had no significant effects on the pupils' aggressive attitudes.

258. Hicks, David J. Imitation and retention of film-mediated aggressive peer and adult models. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 2(1):97-100, 1965.

In this experiment, children aged three to six viewed the novel aggressive actions of either a male or female adult or a boy or girl peer after being mildly frustrated. Immediately after the viewing, they were tested to measure their imitative aggression, and retested six months later on both their performance of imitative aggression and recall of the models' actions. The investigator found that the boys generally imitated aggression to a greater extent than the girls did, but the number of imitative aggressive acts performed by the subjects six months after exposure to the aggressive models was greatly reduced. However, the children could recall a significantly greater number of the models' aggressive acts than they performed. The male peer had the most influence in eliciting children's imitation of his aggression in the immediate situation, while the adult male had the most lasting effect. The investigator indicates that this latter finding may have particular importance for the effects of TV violence on children, in the light of the frequency with which aggressive adult males appear on the TV screen. (7 references)

259. Hicks, David J. Effects of co-observer's sanctions and adult presence on imitative aggression. Child Development, 38(1):303-309, 1968.

Although laboratory studies have shown that children readily imitate aggression, in everyday life, children's behavior is generally subject to parental control. This investigator performed an experiment to determine how an adult's approval or disapproval of filmed aggression and his presence or absence during a subsequent play period affects children's imitation. He found that approval or disapproval of aggression produced corresponding release or inhibition of children's subsequent aggressive behavior only when the adult remained on hand during the play period. In general, children tended to match their responses to that of the film model more frequently when the adult was present, but nonimitative aggression was more frequent in children who were left alone. The researcher concludes that an adult's expression of approval or disapproval can determine the amount and kind of a child's aggression,

since these expressions serve as hints as to which behavior is appropriate for a particular situation. However, these cues may modify behavior only when an adult is present. (6 references)

260. Kaufmann, Harry, and Feshbach, Seymour. The influence of anti-aggressive communications upon the response to provocation. Journal of Personality, 31(3): 428-444, 1963.

In this study college students were given a fictitious case history of a juvenile delinquent and asked to make recommendations about the severity of his punishment. Afterward, subjects were told either that aggression is not a mature way to cope with problems (constructive communication), aggression is sinful and leads to punishment (inhibitory communication), or were given a neutral communication. Subjects were then insulted by the experimenter, again made recommendations for the delinquent's treatment, and participated in a task involving recognition of aggressive and neutral stimuli. The investigators found that students who initially recommended severe punishment and who received the neutral communication responded with increased punitiveness toward the delinquent and performed poorly on the task. Those who at first were less severe in their recommendations did not become stricter later on and also performed poorly on the task. Those who were initially highly punitive and received the inhibitory appeal became more punitive, while students who at first were highly punitive and received the constructive communication did not increase the severity of their recommendations. These subjects also performed better on the task than the other two groups. The investigators suggest that it is therefore possible to encourage nonaggressive responses to provocation in ways that do not produce conflict and repression. They state that the methods demonstrated in the experiment are preferable to reinforcing responses incompatible with anger, since this latter method may result in inhibition of emotional states in general. (10 references)

261. Kuhn, Deanna Zipse, Madsen, Charles H., Jr. and Becker, Wesley C. Effects of exposure to an aggressive model and "frustration" on children's aggressive behavior. Child Development, 38(3):739-745, 1967.

In an experiment with preschool children, these researchers sought to determine whether frustration combined with verbal disapproval after witnessing filmed aggression would increase a child's aggressiveness. They found that frustration (withholding a promised candy bar) plus criticism for not paying attention to the film did not increase the children's subsequent aggression. In fact, there was a slight trend toward inhibition of aggression after the frustration procedure. However, the frustration technique included both the delay of a reward and the presentation of a punishing stimulus (verbal disapproval). They theorize that frustration in the absence of an aggressive model does not lead to aggression, since the child does not learn aggressive responses unless they are specifically demonstrated. Exposure to an aggressive model produces an intermediate amount of aggression, while exposure to an aggressive model followed by frustration (and no punishment) may produce the greatest amount of aggressive behavior. (12 references)

262. Larder, Diane L. Effects of aggressive story content on non-verbal play behavior. Psychological Reports, 11:14, 1962.

Can hearing aggressive stories increase children's subsequent aggressive play? In the investigator's experiment, both aggressive and nonaggressive toys were initially available for nursery schoolers during a play period. After playing with the toys, the children heard recorded stories containing either aggressive or nonaggressive content. After the story period, the children who had heard the aggressive material played more frequently with the aggressive toys, while the aggressive responses of those who had heard the nonaggressive story tended to decrease or increase only slightly. Boys in general exhibited more aggressive behavior than girls. The investigator theorizes that the aggressive story content indicated to the children that aggression was a suitable activity which could be engaged in without receiving punishment. (1 reference)

263. Lefcourt, Herbert M., Barnes, Keith, Parke, Ross, and Schwartz, Fred. Anticipated social censure and aggression-conflict as mediators of response to aggression induction. Journal of Social Psychology, 70:251-263, 1966.

These investigators attempted to determine how expectation of others' disapproval influences the expression of aggression. College males saw a knife fight in a film after being told by the experimenter that they would really enjoy the film (low censure expectancy condition) or that the film portrayed a bunch of hoodlums who should be locked up (high censure expectancy condition). During viewing, a confederate of the experimenter expressed approval of the film in the low censure condition and disapproval in the high censure condition. In later tests, subjects administered simulated shocks to another person. The investigators found that subjects in the low censure expectancy condition tended to increase their shock levels over those they made prior to the viewing, while those in the high censure condition decreased their levels. Subjects who had previously shown conflict regarding aggression in fantasy stories were more responsive to the censure conditions, becoming more aggressive when expectation of disapproval was low and less aggressive when it was high. Those who did not exhibit initial conflict concerning aggression showed little change in level of aggression throughout the experimental procedures. (18 references)

264. Lovaas, O. Ivar. Effect of exposure to symbolic aggression on aggressive behavior. Child Development, 32:37-44, 1961.

This investigator studies the effect of exposure to filmed aggression on aggression expressed in children's subsequent play. After seeing either an aggressive or nonaggressive cartoon, nursery school children were given a choice of two toys. With the aggressive toy, the child could make one doll hit another on the head by turning a lever. The other toy consisted of similarly operated doll figures which did not hit one another. Results showed that children who had seen the aggressive cartoon tended to prefer the aggressive toy, while those who had viewed the nonaggressive film preferred the other. The implication is that viewing filmed aggression will act in some degree to rouse the

child's aggressive impulses, and will not necessarily act as a safety valve to relieve such tendencies. (13 references)

265. Lovibond, S. H. The effect of media stressing crime and violence upon children's attitudes. Social Problems, 15:91-100, 1967.

The author suggests that the mass media, such as TV and comic books are part of a network of stimuli beyond direct experimental control. Furthermore, assessment of the impact of media stimuli is difficult because such exposure effects are very subtle although probably cumulative. This study attempts to assess the relative contribution of the media to the development of children's attitudes toward crime and violence. In the first phase of the study, the investigator developed an attitudinal scale, derived from the content of comic books, which was designed to measure the acceptance of violence as a means of problem resolution. He found that among preadolescent and adolescent boys, the items evoking the highest rate of agreement were those dealing with the use of force to solve personal problems. One-third of the boys accepted the necessity of preventive war, and about 50 percent agreed that life in the Army during war is "pretty good fun." One-third also accepted theft and other crimes under certain conditions, and many agreed with the item, "I'd love to drop bombs on an enemy country." He feels that the comic books had a greater effect than films, since the ideology of violence is expressed most blatantly in comics. The second phase of this investigation was designed to assess the impact of the introduction of television in an Australian urban area. One of the major effects of the introduction of television was a significant decrease in both comic book reading and movie attendance. In addition, the author noted that preference for crime and violence television programming was reliably related to the child's acceptance of the ideology of violence. The general conclusion drawn from the entire study was the fact that there is a clear relationship between endorsement of "negative humanitarian goals" and children's preferences for aspects of the media (comic books, cinema, and television) which stress violent methods of problem resolution. However, the author cautions that there are other variables such as temperamental characteristics which may predispose some children to develop a taste for violence and accept the associated system of ideas. This taste is probably reinforced by exposures to violence in the mass media, and, in the case of a majority of children, high exposure to violence is likely to result in reluctance to oppose delinquent behavior in others, particularly if counteracting moral influences are weak and the chances of punishment are low. (2 references)

266. Maccoby, Eleanor E., Levin, Harry, and Selya, Bruce M. The effects of emotional arousal on the retention of aggressive and nonaggressive movie content. American Psychologist, 10(8):359, 1955.

These investigators hypothesized that what a child remembers from a film depends on his emotional state at the time of viewing. They designed an experiment to test whether children who are frustrated (and therefore more aggressive) before seeing a spy thriller are more likely than nonfrustrated children to recall the film's aggressive and violent content. A group of fifth- and sixth-graders from the Boston area were frustrated in a spelling contest by

being given words too advanced for them, while a second group were given very easy words. All children then saw the spy movie. A week later, the children's recall of aggressive acts and details was recorded, and the investigators found that the frustrated children remembered a much greater amount of the film's aggressive content than nonfrustrated peers.

267. Maccoby, Eleanor E., Levin, Harry, and Selya, Bruce M. The effects of emotional arousal on the retention of film content: a failure to replicate. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 53(3):373-374, 1956.

In a previous experiment, these investigators found that children who had been frustrated prior to viewing a film remembered more of the aggressive film content than their nonfrustrated counterparts. In the initial experiment, fifth- and sixth-graders from the Boston area were frustrated in a spelling bee by being given difficult words, while another group was given easy words. Both groups were then shown a violent film and tested on recall of its contents a week later. In the first experiment, the frustrated children remembered more of the violent and aggressive content than the others. However, when the same procedure was repeated with another group of youngsters from upstate New York, the investigators found no significant differences in recall of aggressive content by the two groups of children. In fact, there was a slight tendency for the nonfrustrated children to remember more of the aggressive content. The investigators initially speculated that the discrepancies between these two studies may have resulted from the fact that the children in both studies may differ in the level of their aggression anxiety as a result of possible differences in socialization practices in these two geographical locations. However, subsequent analyses failed to confirm this speculation and the investigators were unsure of the reasons for this inability to replicate the initial study. (2 references)

268. Maccoby, Eleanor E., and Wilson, William Cody. Identification and observational learning from films. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 55: 76-87, 1957.

These investigators postulated that the amount and kind of material a child learns from a film depends in part on the film character with whom the child chooses to identify. They expected that children would tend to identify with characters who are most like themselves, and would consequently remember more of these characters' words and actions, and events associated with them. In a test of this theory, seventh-graders were shown movies with various types of characters and quizzed a week later on the film contents. The investigators found that memory for film contents did depend on the choice of a character with whom to identify, and also on the relevance of the contents to the children's particular needs. They tended to identify with same-sex characters, and were also more likely to choose a protagonist who corresponded to their aspired social class rather than their current social status. Although they are more likely to remember the actions and events surrounding their chosen characters, this learning does not apply equally to all the character's actions. For boys, aggressive content appears to be more interesting, for they remembered aggression better than girls, provided its agent was a boy hero.

For girls, boy-girl interaction seems most relevant, and they remember this better than boys whenever the girl was the heroine. Girls' greater memory for "girl content" did not extend to aggression, however, when the girl heroine was the agent of aggression. (14 references)

269. Maccoby, Eleanor E., Wilson, William Cody, and Burton, Roger V. Differential movie-viewing behavior of male and female viewers. Journal of Personality, 26:259-267, 1958.

In order to understand how male and female college students differ in their viewing habits, these investigators measured the amount of time each subject spent watching the characters in a romantic movie. The experimenters were particularly interested in determining whether the viewers spent more time watching the main character or another character with whom he was interacting, and also whether the subjects focused on the same-sex character. The results showed that most of the time the viewers' attention is centered mainly on the character who happens to be speaking. Furthermore, both sexes spent more total time looking at the heroine rather than the hero, but a comparison between male and female viewers suggests that males tend to spend more time watching the male lead. (2 references)

270. Meyerson, Leonard Jack. The effects of filmed aggression on the aggressive responses of high and low aggressive subjects. University of Iowa, 1966. Dissertation Abstracts, 27:3291-B, 1967.

In this study, third-grade schoolchildren were rated by their peers as low or high in aggression and were then placed in one of three experimental film conditions. In the first procedure, children saw an adult perform aggressively with a machine which the children were later allowed to use. In the second condition, they saw two adults engaging in aggressive behavior. The third procedure was the same as the first, except that the children did not have the opportunity for an aggressive response with the machine. In testing levels of aggression after exposure to the various films, the investigator found that low-aggression subjects in the first film condition became more aggressive following the film. High-aggression children were not affected. Contrary to expectations, the film in the second condition did not decrease the aggression of low-aggression subjects (although seeing aggressive behavior presumably arouses aggression anxiety in low-aggression children). Rather, the aggression level of these children was actually increased in comparison with the low-aggression subjects in the third condition. The investigator concludes that increased aggression following observation of filmed violence requires similarity of film and post-film settings so that learning of specific responses is facilitated.

271. Mussen, Paul, and Rutherford, Eldred. Effects of aggressive cartoons on children's aggressive play. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 62(2):461-464, 1961.

This study questioned whether, aggressive cartoons, could increase children's hostility, especially after frustration? Middle-class first-graders

were subjected to the frustrating task of copying numbers repeatedly. These children then saw either an aggressive or nonaggressive cartoon, or no cartoon. Afterward, the children's aggression was measured by their desire to see the experimenter break a balloon, although they were not given an opportunity to break the balloon themselves. Those who had seen the aggressive cartoon were more likely to ask the experimenter to break the balloon than others. These children also showed more feelings of anxiety and tension after viewing the aggressive cartoon. However, there was no evidence that viewing aggressive fantasy resulted in increased aggressive play or hostility toward other children. The investigators conclude that aggression exhibited by the children may have resulted from identification with the aggressive cartoon characters. In general, the "fun" context of cartoons lowers inhibitions against aggressive expression, particularly when aggression is not likely to be punished. (9 references)

272. Pillard, Richard C., Atkinson, Kim Wells, and Fisher, Seymour. The effect of different preparations on film induced anxiety. The Psychological Record, 17: No 1, 35-41, 1967.

This study was focused on the relationship between previously induced emotional states and viewer's subsequent reaction to a stress-producing film. One group of college students saw an anxiety-evoking film of an autopsy. A second group saw a relaxing travel film, and a third saw no film. Then all the groups saw a stress-inducing film of a puberty rite. After viewing the stress film, students who had seen the travel film showed the greatest amount of anxiety, while those who had seen the autopsy film showed the least. The anxiety levels of the subjects who had not seen an initial film was intermediate between the other two groups. The investigators theorize that students who had seen the autopsy film were emotionally prepared to handle anxiety, and thus did not react as strongly to the stress film. They conclude that response to anxiety-producing films can be modified by the previous experience of the subjects. (15 references)

273. Preston, Mary I. Children's reactions to movie horrors and radio crime. Journal of Pediatrics, 19(2):147-168, 1941.

This investigator administered an emotional inventory to children aged six to 16 to detect maladjustments in several aspects of their lives. Among the children who had various degrees of experience with movies and radio, some were found to have severe, moderate, and mild addiction to crime movies and radio programs. The investigators found that the results of addiction to such media fare included nervousness, disturbances in sleeping and eating habits, fears, nail-biting, and a morbid interest in gory details, especially when children identified themselves and their families with the victims of the plots. These effects were intensified in children particularly likely to participate sympathetically in the action they see and hear. Other undesirable effects which increased with the degree of addiction were callousness, fears of death and kidnapping, and daydreaming in school. The investigator concluded that the effects of addiction can be neutralized by good health, security in the home, satisfying peer relationships, and success in school.

274. Rosekrans, Mary A., and Hartup, Willard W. Imitative influences of consistent and inconsistent response consequences to a model on aggressive behavior in children. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 7(4):429-434, 1967.

In everyday life, the models that children observe and presumably imitate are not consistently rewarded or punished. These invesigators performed an experiment to determine how inconsistent reinforcement given to an aggressive model affects the observing children's imitative aggression. Nursery schoolers aged three to six saw a model consistently rewarded for displaying physical and verbal aggression, consistently punished, or punished half the time and rewarded half the time. A fourth group saw no model. After being mildly frustrated, the children were allowed to play with toys like the model used, and their aggression was measured. The investigators found that children who saw the inconsistently reinforced model showed less imitative aggression than those exposed to the consistently rewarded model, but more than the children who observed the consistently punished model. They also discovered that the response consequences to the model affected the performance of nonimitative aggression by the younger children, who exhibited more nonimitative aggression in the consistent reward and inconsistent reinforcement conditions. However, the older children exhibited less nonimitative aggression in general, regardless of the model's response consequences. The investigators conclude that inconsistent vicarious reinforcement has a cancelling effect on behavior by encouraging some acts and discouraging others, and that between the ages of three and six, children establish an increasingly finer discrimination among types of aggressive behavior. (10 references)

275. Siegel, Alberta Engvall. Film-mediated fantasy aggression and strength of aggressive drive. Child Development, 27:365-378, 1956.

Authorities concerned with healthy personality development have shown considerable interest in the effects of television on children, and the possible harmful consequences of aggressive and hostile themes. This researcher initially hypothesized that viewing fantasized aggression may reduce aggressive behavior and therefore reduce aggression anxiety. In her experiment, the play activities of pairs of schoolchildren of the same sex were observed after the children had seen an aggressive or nonaggressive cartoon. However, results indicated that aggression and guilt might be higher, rather than lower, after seeing an aggressive film, but differences in aggression between the two groups of children were not statistically significant. Boys generally tended to be more aggressive than girls, and the children's aggression scores correlated with their teacher's ratings of the children's aggression. The author suggested that the overall results of this study failed to support the "catharsis" hypothesis as it relates to children's viewing of televised aggression. (31 references)

276. Siegel, Alberta Engvall. The influence of violence in the mass media upon children's role expectations. Child Development, 29:35-56, 1968.

It has been suggested that one of television's principal effects on children is the presentation of experiences which affect the child's conception

of the real world. This investigator designed an experiment to determine how portrayals of certain characters' behavior influence children's expectations of similar people in actual situations. Second-graders heard two versions of a series of three radio dramas about a taxi driver. In one version, the taxi driver resolved the depicted conflicts through interpersonal aggression, and in the other, by peaceful means. The children were then read simulated newspaper accounts of the behavior of taxi drivers and were asked to supply endings to the stories. The investigator found that the children who had heard the aggressive version of the radio drama depicted taxi drivers as more aggressive then did the other group. It was concluded that the social roles to which children are exposed in mass media entertainment affect their understanding of the real world. Moreover, it was suggested that this effect may be more pronounced when the child lacks other life experiences which either confirm or contradict the notions derived from the mass media. (10 references)

277. Tannenbaum, Percy H., and Gaer, Eleanor P. Mood change as a function of stress of protagonist and degree of identification in a film viewing situation. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 2(4):612-616, 1965.

This study assessed the relationship between the emotional impact of a film and the degree of the viewer's emotional involvement, i.e., identification with the film's main character. Groups of students saw a film in which after a period of initial buildup of stress for the hero, the ending was manipulated to represent different degrees of stress resolution - a happy ending in which stress was reduced, a sad ending in which it was increased, and an indeterminate ending. It was found that subjects reported degrees of stress corresponding to the ending they had witnessed. Those who saw the sad ending showed an increased stress level, while stress was reduced in those who saw the happy ending. Those subjects who identified with the hero to a greater degree also experienced more of his emotional state. In the sad ending, the increase in stress was more marked for those who identified to a greater degree with the hero, and in the happy ending, high identifiers showed a greater reduction in stress. After seeing the indeterminate ending, high identifiers increased their stress level slightly, while low identifiers showed a slight decrease. The investigators conclude that young viewers are likely to experience similar, although reduced, emotional reactions to those experienced by film characters. It was parenthetically suggested that the results of this study tended to support the theory that viewing filmed aggression leads to increased aggressive arousal (Bandura, Berkowitz) rather than belief that such films have a "cathartic" (Feshbach) or aggression-reducing effect. (18 references)

278. Thomson, R. J. Television-Crime-Drama: its impact on children and adolescents. Melbourne, Cheshire, 1959. 197 p.

The investigator showed two crime dramas to Australian teen-agers. Photographs taken of the subjects as they watched the films indicated that tension was built up, but projective reactions immediately afterward did not indicate a significant rise in aggression or fear. Thomson suggests that the results may be due to some sort of natural safeguard operating to protect the individual from stress. He found no evidence that viewing a crime film

provokes any criminal or psychopathic tendencies in the majority of viewers, although constant exposure might lead to an acquisition of relatively insensitive and stereotyped reactions that may carry over to violent events in real life.

279. Walters, Richard H., and Parke, Ross D. Influence of response consequences to a social model on resistance to deviation. Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, 1:269-280, 1964.

This study evaluated the hypothesis that much of the behavior of children is controlled through their observation of the rewards and punishments of others. Preschool boys were shown either one of three films or no film. One film showed a boy rewarded for disobeying his mother; the second, a boy punished for disobedience; the third, a boy receiving no consequences for disobedience. The boys were then tested with a temptation like that shown in the films. The investigators found little disobedience in the children who saw the model punished, or saw no film. However, the children who saw the model rewarded or receive no consequences did disobey, both groups disobeying with similar frequency. The investigators attribute this finding to the lack of punishment in these two film situations. In another test, the children were not prohibited from playing, and the children who had seen the model punished imitated the model's behavior as readily as the other children. When prohibitions were subsequently reinstated during the play period, children in all three film groups exhibited more deviant responses similar to the film model's than boys in the no-film group. The investigators conclude that vicariously experienced reinforcement has little or no effect on observational learning, but produces considerable effect on performance. What happens to a model indicates only the permissibility or nonpermissibility of his actions in a given setting, but does not affect what the observer learns from the model. (16 references)

280. Walters, Richard H., and Thomas, Edward Llewellyn. Enhancement of punitiveness by visual and audiovisual displays. Canadian Journal of Psychology, 17: 244-255, 1963.

In this study, male hospital attendants, high school boys, and young female adults were required to administer shock to another person for errors on a learning task. The subjects then watched either a knife fight scene or a film of adolescents engaged in constructive activities. When they again administered shock to another after seeing the films, the subjects who had seen the aggressive scene showed an increase in aggression by administering more intense shocks. The adolescent subjects increased the shock levels to a greater extent than did the adults. However, the findings suggest that neither similarity in sex or age between an aggressive model and observer is necessary to produce more aggression. The mere observation of an aggressive model who is not punished may lessen the viewer's own inhibitions about aggression. Aggression may also increase in the absence of either anger, reward, or the example set by a model if the subject has not experienced aversive consequences for previous displays of aggression. The investigators conclude that it is probably only the continual expectation of retaliation

by the victim or others that prevents many individuals from expressing aggression more freely. (25 references)

281. Walters, Richard H., and Willows, Donna C. Imitative behavior of disturbed and nondisturbed children following exposure to aggressive and nonaggressive models. Child Development, 39:79-89, 1968.

These investigators conducted a study to determine the extent to which disturbed boys (with character, behavior, and personality disorders) and normal boys aged seven to 11 would imitate the aggressive and nonaggressive behavior of an adult model demonstrated in a videotaped presentation. They found that the incidence of aggressive behavior following observation of the model was very low in both groups, although the disturbed children exhibited slightly more verbal imitative aggressive responses. Overall, there were no indications that the disturbed children were more likely than normal boys to imitate aggressive behavior, although they were less likely than the normal children to imitate the model's nonaggressive actions. Findings with regard to the behavior of the normal children suggest that under some circumstances, observation of an aggressive model may actually increase the incidence of nonaggressive behavior through inhibition. Thus, tendency of the child to respond aggressively appears to be at least as important as the model's behavior in determining subsequent aggressive actions. However, the authors suggest that the overall findings support the hypothesis that the observation of an aggressive model increases the probability that the child will display aggressive behavior, at least within a short time span after exposure. Moreover, disturbed and nondisturbed children did not differ in the extent to which they imitated the aggressive model.

282. Walters, Richard H., Leat, Marion, and Mezei, Louis. Inhibition and disinhibition of responses through empathetic learning. Canadian Journal of Psychology, 17:235-243, 1963.

The authors questioned whether observing punishment for disobedience will inhibit a child's deviation. In this study, kindergarten boys saw a film in which a child played with toys that he had been forbidden to touch. At the end of the film, the child's mother either rewarded or punished him for playing with the toys. A third group of children saw no film. All the children were then placed in a "temptation" situation with forbidden toys. Analysis of the children's reactions showed that those who had seen the model rewarded for playing with the toys were more likely to ignore the prohibition and to play with them anyway, while those who had seen the model punished tended not to play with the toys. Those who had seen the model rewarded were also quicker to start playing with the toys and played with them for a longer period. The children who had seen the model punished disobeyed less than those who had not seen any film. The investigators conclude that a child can experience some of the sensory consequences of a model's behavior. For example, when he sees a model receiving satisfaction by injuring another, the child imitates this behavior in the expectation that it will be satisfying for him too. In general, however, the consequences of a model's behavior, such as reward or punishment, modify the influence of observing the behavior. (22 references)

283. Walters, Richard H., Parke, Ross D., and Cane, Valerie A. Timing of punishment and the observation of consequences to others as determinants of response inhibition. Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, 2:10-30, 1965.

The investigators initially theorized that the amount of learning by punished children would not be affected by what happens to a model that they observed. In this experiment, first-grade and kindergarten boys were assigned a task to complete, and some were punished as soon as they made a mistake, while others were punished only after completion of the session. Then all children were assigned to one of four film situations: model rewarded for mistakes, model punished for mistakes, no consequences to the model, or no film. The boys were then given a problem-solving task, the solution of which had been demonstrated by the models. Results showed that children who saw the model rewarded or the model receive no consequences had learned to solve the problem from observation of the model; those who saw the model punished did not perform significantly better than those who had not seen any film. Boys who had received early punishment before viewing the film were less likely to deviate from the demonstrated response sequence than those who received delayed punishment. Children who saw the model punished were also more resistant to deviation. The combination of early punishment and observation of a punished model was most effective in inhibiting deviant responses. (25 references)

284. Walters, Richard H., Thomas, Edward Llewllyn, and Acker, C. William. Enhancement of punitive behavior by audio-visual displays. Science, 136(3519):872-873, 1962.

The impact of viewing an aggressive movie was assessed by presenting male hospital attendants with a film of a knife-fight scene or a movie of teen-agers engaged in constructive activities. Afterward, both groups of viewers were given the opportunity to punish errors on a learning task by administering shock to a confederate of the experimenters. Results showed that those who had seen the fight were much more punitive than the other group - they punished errors more severely with higher levels and intensities of shock. The other group showed a decrease in punitiveness as compared with preexperimental levels. The investigators conclude that exposure to scenes of aggression results in a significantly greater willingness to inflict pain. This effect may even be more pronounced when older children view movies in a natural setting and then have an opportunity to inflict harm on someone else. (6 references)

285. Zajonc, Robert. Some effects of the "space" serials. Public Opinion Quarterly, 18:367-374, 1954.

This investigator studied children's identification with the heroes of radio space dramas and their acceptance of the values espoused by these characters. In an experimental test, groups of children between 10 and 14 years old listened to power oriented or friendship-seeking in personal problem solving behavior. Results showed that each group overwhelmingly preferred to be like the successful character, regardless of whether he was power- or affiliation-oriented, and thought his attributes were attractive. Although these effects may not be long-lasting, the implication is that children admire and

copy behavior that appears to be successful in mass media presentations. However, the author does not believe that a child will select a successful criminal as a model, but will emulate a successful character only as long as the character's values are not too deviant from those already held by the child. (3 references)

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